

AN ANALYSIS OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FEDERAL EDUCATION  
LEGISLATION AND IDENTIFIABLE ECONOMIC, POLITICAL  
OR SOCIAL CRISES IN THE UNITED STATES

An abstract of a dissertation by  
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The problem. The problem was to determine whether the Congress of the United States, throughout its history, had enacted major federal education legislation as a response to a major economic, political or social crisis.

Procedures. Data were gathered on major federal education legislation and major economic, political and social crises occurring in the United States from 1776 to 1976. From these data, lists were constructed of major federal education legislation and of each type of major crisis. The lists of all major economic, political and social crises were combined and compared with the list of major federal education legislation. The purpose of this comparison was to determine if major federal education legislation was enacted when some form of crisis was occurring in the United States. The data gathered from this comparison were used to test the hypothesis. Additional analyses were conducted to determine if major federal education legislation was enacted when a particular type of crisis had occurred. This was accomplished by comparing each list of crises with the list of major federal education legislation. Two other analyses were completed by using the composite list of crises and the list of major federal education legislation. The analyses were to determine if when major federal education legislation was enacted some type of crisis was occurring in the United States, and if there was a relationship between crises and federal education legislation occurring simultaneously in history.

Findings. There were twenty-seven dates in the United States from 1776 to 1976 when major federal education legislation was enacted. These twenty-seven dates encompassed forty-two education acts. Sixty-one major crises occurred in the United States from 1776 to 1976. Eighteen of these were economic crises, eighteen were political and twenty-five were social. The investigation reveals: thirty-four percent of the time when a major economic, political or social crisis occurred, major federal education legislation was enacted. Additional analyses of data reveal: eleven percent of the time a major economic crisis occurred,

major federal education legislation was enacted; fifty percent of the time a major political crisis occurred, major federal education legislation was enacted; forty percent of the time a major social crisis occurred, major federal education legislation was enacted. Also, eighty-one percent of the time when major federal education legislation was enacted, a major crisis of some type was occurring; thirty-seven percent of the time major federal education legislation was enacted the legislation had a relationship with a crisis occurring at the same time. Conversely, eleven percent of all crises that occurred had a relationship with major federal education legislation enacted at the same time. Two-thirds of all major federal education legislation occurred from 1956 to 1976.

Conclusions. The federal government does not use major economic, political or social crises as a basis for enacting major federal education legislation. Three additional conclusions were drawn from the study. When a crisis exists at the same time major federal education legislation is enacted, the crisis is most likely to be concerned with war or national defense. There is no apparent established procedure for identifying needed federal education legislation; the federal government has become increasingly involved in education.

Recommendations. An investigation should be made to determine background causes for major federal education legislation. Current attitudes and intentions of the federal government in education need to be determined. It is imperative that educators and their organizations, as well as the Congress, develop methodology for identifying needed education legislation and procedures for implementation. The public should be aware of all costs, benefits and limitations of proposed major federal education legislation.

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Doctor of Education

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by  
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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF TABLES . . . . .	v
Chapter	
1. BACKGROUND . . . . .	1
STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM . . . . .	2
RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY. . . . .	2
SOURCES OF DATA . . . . .	3
HYPOTHESIS OF THE STUDY. . . . .	4
DEFINITION OF TERMS. . . . .	4
BASIC ASSUMPTIONS. . . . .	7
DELIMITATIONS. . . . .	7
2. REVIEW OF LITERATURE . . . . .	9
INTRODUCTION . . . . .	9
HISTORY OF FEDERAL INVOLVEMENT IN EDUCATION. . . . .	10
PURPOSE OF FEDERAL INVOLVEMENT WITH EDUCATION. . . . .	24
CONCLUSIONS. . . . .	26
3. METHODOLOGY. . . . .	30
DESIGN OF THE STUDY. . . . .	30
PROCEDURES . . . . .	31
GATHERING THE DATA . . . . .	33
Identification of Major Federal Educa- tion Legislation in the United States from 1776-1976 . . . . .	33

Identification of Major Economic Crises in the United States from 1776 to 1976 . . . . .	34
Identification of Major Political Crises in the United States from 1776 to 1976 . . . . .	40
Identification of Major Social Crises in the United States from 1776 to 1976 . . . . .	41
HYPOTHESIS OF THE STUDY. . . . .	50
TREATMENT OF THE DATA. . . . .	51
4. FINDINGS OF THE STUDY. . . . .	53
MAJOR FEDERAL EDUCATION LEGISLATION IN THE UNITED STATES FROM 1776 to 1976. . . . .	54
MAJOR ECONOMIC CRISES IN THE UNITED STATES FROM 1776 TO 1976. . . . .	66
MAJOR POLITICAL CRISES IN THE UNITED STATES FROM 1776 TO 1976 . . . . .	77
MAJOR FEDERAL SOCIAL LEGISLATION IN THE UNITED STATES FROM 1776 TO 1976. . . . .	112
DISCUSSION OF TABLES I THROUGH IV. . . . .	132
THE HYPOTHESIS TESTED. . . . .	145
ADDITIONAL ANALYSIS OF DATA. . . . .	149
5. SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS . . .	153
PURPOSE OF THE STUDY . . . . .	153
SUMMARY OF METHODOLOGY . . . . .	154
SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS. . . . .	155
LIMITATIONS. . . . .	156
CONCLUSIONS. . . . .	158

## Page

RECOMMENDATIONS . . . . .	158
BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	160
APPENDICES . . . . .	169

## LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Major Federal Education Legislation in the United States from 1776 to 1976. . . . .	133
2. Major Economic Crises in the United States from 1776 to 1976. . . . .	137
3. Major Political Crises in the United States from 1776 to 1976. . . . .	140
4. Major Social Crises in the United States from 1776 to 1976. . . . .	143
5. Major Federal Education Legislation in the United States from 1776 to 1976, Enacted in the Same Year a Major Economic, Political or Social Crises Occurred. . . . .	146
6. Major Crises in the United States from 1776 to 1976 Which Were Related To Specific Federal Education Legislation . . .	152



## Chapter 1

### BACKGROUND

From the beginning of the Republic, Americans have heeded the warning by Thomas Jefferson when he said, "If a Nation expects to be ignorant and free in a state of civilization, it expects what never was and what never will be."<sup>1</sup>

Consequently, education has become an integral part of the American way of life. In the fall of 1975, education was the primary activity of 62,300,000 people in the United States.<sup>2</sup> It is the investigator's opinion that education has been the bulwark for freedom and provided the leadership which has enabled the United States to survive in a world filled with poverty, war, distrust, ignorance and hunger.

The United States government has been involved with education throughout its history. One method of this involvement has been through legislation passed by Congress. This study investigated the circumstances under which major

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<sup>1</sup>Thomas Jefferson, Crusade Against Ignorance, ed. Gordon C. Lee (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1961), pp. 18-19.

<sup>2</sup>W. Vance Grant and C. George Lind, Digest of Education Statistics: 1975 Edition (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1976), p. 1.

federal education legislation took place.

### STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

When the United States Constitution was written in 1787, it did not mention education. However, the Congress of the United States has used Article I, Section 8, called the "General Welfare Clause," to justify passing education legislation. It stated that:

The Congress shall have Power: to lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imports and Excises, to pay Debts and provide for the Common Defense and General Welfare of the United States; but all Duties, Imports and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States; . . .<sup>1</sup>

This study attempted to determine whether or not the Congress of the United States passed major federal education legislation as a reaction to economic, political or social crises facing the United States of America.

### RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

As the United States began to develop its resources, expand its political power and became more concerned about the social welfare of its people, it began to use the "Welfare Clause" of the Constitution as the legal basis for its involvement in the education of the American citizenry.

If major education legislation, passed by Congress from 1776 to 1976, was in response to economic, political

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<sup>1</sup>U. S. Constitution, Article I, Section 8.

or social crises facing the country, it would appear that the federal government was attempting to solve problems already in existence. In that event, educators and legislators should anticipate crises which could develop and propose appropriate federal legislation, rather than wait for Congress to act after crises have occurred.

If the federal government has not passed major federal education legislation as a reaction to crises, then, the present legislative procedures for identifying needed education legislation should be delineated so educators and legislators will understand the process by which the federal government uses education to meet its needs.

#### SOURCES OF DATA

Data were gathered on four different variables. There were: Federal Education Legislation, American History, Economics and Sociology. To gather these data, books, periodicals, annals, journals, graphs and charts were searched. The following institutions, organizations and agencies supplied data and technical assistance to the investigation: American Assembly, Columbia University; National Education Association; National Bureau of Economic Research; Bureau of Labor Statistics; United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare; Department of History, Drake University; Department of Economics, Drake University; Department of Sociology, Drake University.

## HYPOTHESIS OF THE STUDY

Data were collected to test the following null hypothesis:

There is no relationship between federal education legislation and economic, political or social crises in the United States.

## DEFINITION OF TERMS

The data gathered for this study encompassed four different disciplines. To interpret the data, it was necessary, at times, to use technical terms to avoid ambiguity. These terms were defined as follows:

Business Cycles--the fluctuations of business from peaks to troughs in a cyclical pattern. A cycle consists of expansions, recessions, contractions and records of economic activities.

Business Peak--the high point of expansion in the business cycle. Recessions, contractions and revival of business activity will follow.

Business Trough--the low point of expansion in the business cycle. If point is low enough, the situation can be considered a crisis. Revival of business activity follows the crisis.

Economic Panic--a sudden widespread concern about the solvency of business in general that occurs as a reaction to some economic situation. People may demand their deposits from banks, and stock prices may be artificially depressed.

Commodity/Wholesale Price Index--involves the use of calculated wholesale prices of a group of commodities to form an index that will measure economic fluctuations in business over a period of time.

Deviant Behavior--human behavior that is not considered normal by a group or society.

Index Lag Time--the time it takes for an economic crisis to be discernible in any monthly or yearly wholesale price index system.

Labeling--involves the rules that are set up by the group. Behavior that does not conform to the group is labeled deviant.

Tight Money--a constriction of the amount of money available to be loaned for new construction, business expansion, research, and personal loans.

Major Federal Education Legislation--legislation passed by Congress that has brought about change in education either through stimulating growth in the number of people being educated, developing more educational materials, building

more facilities or having historical significance in the development of education in the United States.

Major Economic Crisis--a depressed business situation where prices, investments, production, sales and labor are experiencing adverse conditions. These adverse conditions cause a deep trough in the business cycle.

Major Political Crisis--a period of time in which the United States government perceives a threat to its structure, its operation, the philosophy on which it was founded, its support by its citizenry or its control of the country.

Major Social Crisis--a social problem in the United States of such magnitude that federal legislation is passed in an attempt to solve the problem.

Social Disorganization--people coming into conflict with themselves and/or society because established norms are in the process of being changed, and they perceive change as being dysfunctional.

Social Pathology--refers to maladjustments in social relationships. These maladjustments are social problems, and are a violation of moral expectations for the individual or group.

Value Conflict--social conditions accepted by one group and rejected by another group. The results of this difference in opinion is conflict of values.

## BASIC ASSUMPTIONS

The following basic assumptions were essential to the conduct of this study:

1. Economic, political and social crises in United States history can be identified in the time period 1776 to 1976.
2. Major federal education legislation can be identified in the time period 1776 to 1976.

## DELIMITATIONS

The study was not an analysis of all facets of the United States government's involvement in education, only the relationship of economic, political or social crises in the United States to major federal education legislation from 1776 to 1976.

The investigation would have been facilitated and the resulting data more precise if it would have been possible to determine a specific day when an economic, political or social crisis occurred in the United States. However, determining the exact day a crisis occurred was not always possible. Often a crisis occurred as a result of an accumulation of events over a period of time. When this happens, only a total assessment of the situation could define it as a crisis. Because of the problem of dating crises, yearly dates were used with identifiable economic,

political and social crises in this investigation. For consistency, the same procedure was used with dates of major federal education legislation.

While it was necessary to search background data on federal education legislation, economics, United States political history, and sociology, only data pertinent to the study were used on each of these subjects.



## Chapter 2

### REVIEW OF LITERATURE

#### INTRODUCTION

The founding fathers of the United States of America purposely made little reference to education in the text of the Constitution. At that time in the United States, education, like religion, was thought by the men who attended the Constitutional Convention to be a function of the church, state or local government, not the federal government.<sup>1</sup>

This attitude did not, necessarily, reflect a lack of interest in education on the part of these men, or that some would not have liked the federal government to play a role in the education of Americans. Atkinson and Maleska reported that James Madison indicated, in his private journal on the Constitutional Convention, there had been, at one stage in drafting the Constitution, a list of enumerated powers to be assigned to the federal government. Control over an educational system had been an item on that list. The authors further reported that Thomas Jefferson, in

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<sup>1</sup>R. Freeman Butts, A Cultural History of Western Education (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1955), p. 316.

1806, and Madison, in 1817, advocated a constitutional amendment that would have given the federal government powers over education.<sup>1</sup>

On September 14, 1787, one of the last days of the Constitutional Convention, James Madison and Charles Pinckney made a motion Congress be given power to establish a university. The opposition, led by Gouverneur Morris of Pennsylvania, thought the motion unnecessary, and it did not carry.<sup>2</sup> It is also known that the first six presidents of the United States supported the idea of having a national university. George Washington provided financial aid for developing the university by bequeathing fifty shares of stock in the Potomac Canal Company in his will.<sup>3</sup> The university, however, never became a reality.

Since the Constitution does not provide guidance to the federal government concerning its involvement in education, the role of the federal government in education throughout United States history is unclear. Despite all

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<sup>1</sup>Carroll Atkinson and Eugene T. Maleska, The Story of Education (Philadelphia: Chilton Books, 1965), p. 194.

<sup>2</sup>Carl Van Dorn, The Great Rehearsal. The Story of the Making and Ratifying of the Constitution of the United States (New York: Viking Press, 1948), p. 162.

<sup>3</sup>Sidney W. Tiedt, The Role of the Federal Government in Education (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 17; see also Butts, loc. cit.

the information available, the public does not know how involved the federal government is with education in this country. For example, in a 1968 study, it was reported the federal government offered 470 educational-subsidy programs for students, schools and colleges. These programs were distributed among twenty agencies and departments, and involved billions of dollars.<sup>1</sup>

In the following pages of this chapter, the writer has presented, through the search of available literature, a concise summary of the United States government's involvement in education.

#### HISTORY OF FEDERAL INVOLVEMENT IN EDUCATION

Authors, writing about the federal government's involvement in education, have approached the subject in a variety of ways. Tiedt organized chronologically the federal government's involvement in education into three sections: (1) The Early Period (from the beginning of the country's history to the Civil War); (2) The Middle Period (from the Civil War to World War II); (3) The Contemporary Period (from World War II to the 1960s).<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>"The Wide Sweep of Federal Aid," U.S. News and World Report, LXV, (July 29, 1968), 10.

<sup>2</sup>Tiedt, op. cit., p. 15.

Munger preferred to discuss federal involvement with education in, what he called, phases. These phases were: (A) The First Phase: This phase dated with the Hoar Bill of 1870 and continued through 1917. (B) The Second Phase: This phase, from 1918 to 1925, was the period bills concerned with industrial, agricultural or domestic education were continually before Congress. (C) The Third Phase: This phase, from the 1930s to the 1960s, marked a return to a strategy of seeking long-term federal aid legislation with bills almost continually before Congress.<sup>1</sup>

Quattlebaum, writing for the American Assembly at Columbia University, outlined the history of the United States government's participation in education by listing forty-three dates, starting with 1777 and ending with 1958. He described what action the federal government took concerning education on each date, and, thereby, provided a chronological order for the development of federal involvement in education.<sup>2</sup>

Rivlin saw federal participation in education as dating back to the start of the Republic. She, however,

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<sup>1</sup>Frank J. Munger and Richard F. Fenno, National Politics and Federal Aid to Education (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1962), pp. 2-8.

<sup>2</sup>Charles A. Quattlebaum, The Federal Government and Higher Education (New York: The American Assembly, 1960), pp. 31-34.

pointed out that in the first one hundred years of the Republic, federal aid was simple and confined to a single form. This form was the granting of public land to each state to support seminaries, colleges and universities. She wrote that, since 1900, the federal government has expanded its participation in education.<sup>1</sup>

The literature revealed federal involvement with education began as early as 1777 when the Second Continental Congress provided an educational program for military personnel. This program included schooling in mathematics. In 1783, Colonel Timothy Pickering made a suggestion regarding federal aid to education. He wanted to use all surplus land from the Ohio Territory for the common good of the citizenry. This idea would have included the establishment of public schools and academies. His suggestion was not enacted, but it was indicative of the thinking of the time, and led to the Continental Congress passing the Northwest Ordinances.<sup>2</sup>

These ordinances, commonly called the Land Ordinance of 1785 and the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, set aside land to be used in the support of public schools, and contained

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<sup>1</sup>Alice M. Rivlin, The Role of the Federal Government in Financing Higher Education (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1961), p. 9.

<sup>2</sup>Tiedt, op. cit., p. 15.

provisions pertaining to the need and duty of the government to encourage education.

The 1785 Land Ordinance provided for the sale of the land northwest of the Ohio River, east of the Mississippi River, and south of the Great Lakes. The land was divided into thirty-six sections, each consisting of one square mile. The sixteenth section of each township was set aside for the use of public schools, which Bailey called "a priceless gift to education in the Northwest."<sup>1</sup>

Tiedt said that the policy of governmental support for education was affirmed, in 1787, by the passage of the Northwest Ordinance, which stated: "Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged."<sup>2</sup>

After the early land ordinances of the Continental Congress, the next major federal involvement in education was the Ohio Enabling Act of 1802. This act granted the sixteenth section of each township for schools. A year later, in 1803, Congress took action confirming all land grants for schools passed by the Continental Congress. In addition, Congress gave land to Ohio "for schools and for

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<sup>1</sup>Thomas A. Bailey, The American Pageant: A History of the Republic (Boston: D.C. Heath and Co., 1961), p. 134.

<sup>2</sup>Tiedt, op cit., pp. 15-16.

no other use, intent or purpose whatever."<sup>1</sup> This action made land grants available for education in the United States. Under subsequent Statehood Acts, the federal government has, since 1802, granted 98,500,000 acres of land to the states for public schools.<sup>2</sup>

After 1802, there was little federal activity in the field of education until 1862 when the Morrill Act was passed. This legislation was a very important landmark in the history of federal aid to education. From this act came the term "land grant college." Specifically, the purpose of the Morrill Act was to establish at least one college in each state dedicated to teaching agriculture and industrial arts. Commager said, "with the exception of the Land Ordinance of 1785, this is the most important piece of legislation on behalf of education ever passed."<sup>3</sup>

Since the inception of the Morrill Act, thirteen million acres of public land have been given to the states for mechanical and agricultural colleges, and in 1966,

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<sup>1</sup>Truman M. Pierce, Federal, State and Local Government in Education (Washington: The Center for Applied Research in Education, Inc., 1964), pp. 24-25.

<sup>2</sup>Tiedt, op. cit., p. 17.

<sup>3</sup>Henry Steel Commager, ed., Documents of American History, I (6th ed., New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1958), p. 412.

according to Tiedt, the number of colleges and universities established through the land grants numbered sixty-eight. These sixty-eight colleges constituted only four percent of the total colleges and universities in the country, but twenty percent of all the undergraduates in higher education were enrolled.<sup>1</sup>

It might also be stated that prestigious institutions, such as the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Ohio State University, and the University of California, were formed by the passage of the Morrill Act.

Following the Civil War in March 1867, President Andrew Johnson established the Department of Education with Henry Barnard serving as its first commissioner. The purpose of this office was to collect and distribute information about education, and to encourage the development of educational programs throughout the country.

After the Civil War, the first and only attempt was made by the federal government to legislate direct control over local systems of education. This proposal was attempted under a bill introduced in 1870 by George F. Hoar, a Republican representative from Massachusetts. The bill never came to a vote, but it did serve to focus attention on the

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<sup>1</sup>Tiedt, op. cit., p. 18.



question of federal aid to schools, and, therefore, is a landmark in the study of federal aid to education.<sup>1</sup>

In 1872, Legrand W. Perce, a representative from Mississippi, introduced a bill "to establish an educational fund - the net proceeds of public land are hereby forever consecrated and set apart for the education of the people."<sup>2</sup> Money from the sale of land was to be given on the basis of school populations from ages four to twenty-one. A need factor based on literacy was included in the bill. This bill, although not passed, could be classified as an attempt to grant general federal aid to education.

Ambrose Burnside, a Republican senator from Rhode Island in March 1879, attempted to pass a bill similar to the Perce Bill, except only interest on money from the sale of land was to be used as an educational fund. The bill was not approved by Congress.

A bill passed three different times by the Senate, but turned down each time by the House, was the Blair Bill of 1884. This bill is an interesting study because the arguments on both sides give an idea of the feelings toward federal aid at the time. Opponents of the bill used such arguments as: it was unconstitutional to give direct aid to

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 20.

<sup>2</sup>U.S., Congressional Record, 42nd Cong., 2d Sess. (1872) VL, Part I, 396.

schools; it would allow national control of education; it would destroy self-initiative; it would waste public money, and it would discourage local effort. Some of the same arguments are used currently by opponents of federal aid to education.

Those in favor of the bill argued: the government was obligated to insure all children at least an elementary education; the South needed help in its educational efforts; economic conditions of the country demanded money be returned to circulation, and there was too much control of education by local agencies.

In 1887, the Hatch Act was passed. This act added agricultural experimental stations to the land-grant colleges which resulted in the encouragement of scientific investigation in the field of agriculture. The second Morrill Act, passed by Congress in 1890, introduced the principle of federal grants to certain branches of higher education. Both of these acts provided for permanent annual endowments to education and increased the number of agricultural and mechanical schools.

The Smith-Hughes Act of 1917 was designed to develop vocational education and home economics training for high school students. It is one of the first examples of federal aid to schools below the college level. Another first provided by this bill was its inclusion of federal aid for teachers' salaries and the principle of matching funds.

An attempt was made in 1919, under the Smith-Towner Bill, to establish a department of education at cabinet level, and to provide funds for teachers' salaries and teacher training. The bill, however, was not enacted.

There were no education bills passed during the depression years of 1930 to 1940, but there were some bills that indirectly affected education. For example, the establishment of the Public Works Administration (PWA) in 1933 helped construct educational buildings throughout the country. In 1933, the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) was initiated. This action provided people with the opportunity to obtain vocational training, and provided for the development of natural resources. The Works Progress Administration (WPA) supported several educational programs, and provided employment for those without jobs. Establishing the National Youth Administration (NYA) in 1935 gave relief and employment to young people between the ages of sixteen to twenty-five.

The Lanham Act, passed in 1941, helped communities located in close proximity to military bases. The act marked a recognition by the federal government of its responsibility to correct situations where military installations caused a financial burden on local educational services because of an increase in children to be educated with no supportive tax base provided.

The GI Bill, or Service Man's Readjustment Act, was

passed in 1944. This legislation provided training and education for returning service men and women. Over 7,800,000 veterans of World War II went to school under this act.<sup>1</sup>

According to Hechinger, these veterans gave education a new dimension, "The Veterans came - and so did the wives and babies. Instead of undermining educational quality, they shored it up, gave it a new maturity."<sup>2</sup> Public Law 550 extended the GI Bill to include veterans of the Korean War, and, in 1967, Congress gave Vietnam veterans the same benefits.

The Impact Laws of 1950 were Public Law 815 and Public Law 874. Actually, these were a continuation of the Lanham Act of 1941, and were to aid communities disrupted by adjacent military installations. These laws have been popular with school administrators because they involved little federal control. They have also been popular with Congress because they included all geographic areas. For example, in 1959, Impact funds went to 316 of the 437 congressional districts, and twenty-five percent of all students in public schools were covered by these laws.

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<sup>1</sup>Tiedt, op. cit., p. 25.

<sup>2</sup>Fred M. Hechinger, "Growing Up in America," New Dimensions for Educating Youth: A Bicentennial Conference Report on America's Secondary Schools, eds. John Chaffee, Jr. and James P. Clark (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1976), p. 4.

Federal aid during the Eisenhower Administration emphasized school construction. An example of this was the McConnell Bill of 1957. It is known as the School Construction Act, and provided for spending 325,000,000 dollars annually for four years.

The most important bill of the 1950s was the National Defense Education Act of 1958. This bill, commonly called the N.D.E.A., came about because of the reaction in the United States to Russia's success in space development and science. The purpose of the act was to stimulate education in areas of science, foreign language and mathematics. The bill contained ten parts or titles, which were indicative of its coverage. This legislation provided loans to students, fellowships, financial grants to strengthen science, and language instruction, development of guidance programs, vocational education programs and research in media materials.

During the 1960s, two major bills were introduced under the Kennedy Administration. One was the School Assistance Act of 1961. This proposal would have given 2,300,000,000 dollars to the states, and they would have been able to determine whether the money would be spent for construction, salaries, depressed areas or scholarships. The bill failed for several reasons. Two of which were no financial aid was provided for parochial schools, and many Republicans in Congress were against federal aid

to education. The other bill was the National Education Improvement Act of 1963. This was an omnibus bill covering practically all phases of education, from remedial measure for illiteracy to the establishment of graduate centers. This bill also failed for a number of reasons. Certainly, one reason was its overwhelming vastness in scope which left many aspects of it vulnerable to attack.

Several of the provisions in the omnibus education bill were passed by Congress as separate bills. They were the Vocational Education Act of 1963, which attempted to bring up-to-date vocational education; the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963, which allotted money over a five-year period for classroom construction; and the Higher Education Facilities Act, which provided financial aid for construction of libraries, buildings for science, mathematics, language and junior colleges.

Two major acts of 1964 affected education, if not directly, at least indirectly. They were the Economic Opportunity Act and the Civil Rights Act. Under the Economic Opportunity Act, the Job Corps was established, and Volunteers In Service to America (VISTA), a domestic peace corps, came into being. The Civil Rights Act encouraged the desegregation of public schools, and provided some guidelines to accomplish this change.

Congress passed many education bills during 1963-1964. In fact, Tiedt lists thirty-six different bills for

this period.<sup>1</sup> Under President Lyndon Johnson, the Elementary and Secondary Act provided federal grants to school districts with low income families. This act was passed in 1965 along with the Higher Education Act, which gave aid to colleges, students and teachers.

Several acts concerning education were passed by Congress in 1966-1967. They were the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act, the Social Science Act, the Housing and Urban Development Act, and the Guaranteed Student Loans Act. In October of 1968, President Johnson signed two major education bills. They were the Higher Education Amendments and the Vocational Education Amendments. Together, the two bills contained more than fifty different authorizations ranging from preschool to postdoctoral studies, and they encompassed virtually every facet of the national education system.

The Education Amendments Act of 1972 was of massive proportions and was looked upon by Alford as landmark legislation in the field of education.<sup>2</sup> The 1972 law had 146 pages, and covered all levels of education. It dealt with Indian education, pupil transportation, emergency aid,

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<sup>1</sup>Tiedt, op. cit., pp. 164-165.

<sup>2</sup>Albert L. Alford, "Education's New Landmark Legislation", American Education, VIII (August-September, 1972), 4-8.

student assistance and help to higher education. The Education Amendments Act of 1974 was so broad in its coverage that it probably affected all phases of education in the United States. The Act was 130 pages long, and extended some of the programs already in operation while creating a number of new ones. There were eight different sections listed as Title I through Title VIII. According to Alford, this legislation represented a major advance in federal support of the nation's schools.<sup>1</sup>

#### PURPOSE OF FEDERAL INVOLVEMENT WITH EDUCATION

The founding fathers of the United States were aware education was a tool that could be used to Americanize the people and bring them together. Pierce recognized this when writing about the federal government's relationships to education in the United States. He said:

Their origins lie in the use of government by the people as an instrument for achieving goals sought through education. These goals are deeply rooted in the American ideals of concern for the welfare of all people, and the belief that the government exists to serve the best interests of all of them.<sup>2</sup>

Horace Mann, one of the fathers of education in America, put it this way:

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<sup>1</sup>Albert L. Alford, "The Education Amendments of 1974", American Education, XI (January-February, 1975), 6-11.

<sup>2</sup>Pierce, op. cit., p. 1.



Education then, beyond all other devices of human origin is a great equalizer of the conditions of men, - the balance wheel of the social machinery.

. . . The spread of education, by enlarging the cultivated class of caste, will open a wider area over which the social feelings will expand; and if this education should be universal and complete, it would do more than all things else to obliterate factitious distinctions in society . . .<sup>1</sup>

A good example of the use of education to Americanize the people can be found in the use of the McGuffey readers from the 1830s to the early 1900s. They did much to shape the cultural, moral, patriotic and American ideals in the United States. These amazing books sold over 122,000,000 copies and were enormously popular.<sup>2</sup>

The American people, throughout the history of the Republic, have used education to shape their way of life and, with ever-increasing frequency, have encouraged the federal government to take part in their efforts. The federal government has been willing to accept this role because, as the world becomes more complex, it is vitally important for the well-being of the United States that its people become an intelligent, responsible citizenry. Walsh said it this way:

Responsible citizens realize that the welfare of the State depends in a large measure on their

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<sup>1</sup>Horace Mann, "On Education and National Welfare," Commager, op. cit., pp. 317-318.

<sup>2</sup>Bailey, op cit., pp. 335-336.

own intelligence and on the intelligence and the good will of those whom they choose as leaders.<sup>1</sup>

### CONCLUSIONS

The literature suggests the federal government has never had a clearly defined policy on how it should aid education. In fact, the implication is legislation concerning education has been a by-product of some need or crisis in the United States, often not even closely associated with education. Many state universities were established as a by-product of congressional desire to dispose of public land on terms that would satisfy the greatest number of constituents. The Morrill Act was passed during the Civil War to encourage more scientific agriculture. Other examples of crisis legislation were the Smith-Hughes Act during World War I, the Lanham Act during World War II, the Federal Impact Laws during the Korean War, and the National Defense Education Act of 1958 resulting from "Sputnik" and the Cold War. The GI Bill of Rights brought increased emphasis on education. In fact, the GI Bill did more for upgrading education in the United States than any other legislative act, even though it was a temporary measure. It was primarily designed to aid in adjustment of returning service personnel

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<sup>1</sup>John E. Walsh, Education and Political Power (New York: The Center for Applied Research in Education, Inc., 1964), p. 41.

during World War II. As Hechinger said, it was passed, "not out of a concern for education as much as to prevent the veterans from creating bread lines."<sup>1</sup>

Rarely in history has Congress explicitly undertaken the support of higher education. Since World War II, an increasing need for technology has changed this situation, and higher education has been recognized as an appropriate federal undertaking. Rivlin said the National Defense Education Act might represent the beginning of a new era of explicit recognition of higher education as a legitimate area of federal concern.<sup>2</sup> This recognition could be true because the law did cover a wider scope of education than any up to that time, and the intent of it was primarily for strengthening education in the United States.

Over twenty-five education bills were passed by Congress between 1958 and 1969. They covered practically all phases of education, from providing training for the mentally retarded, and funds for salaries, to financing school construction. If these bills are considered, along with the omnibus Education Amendments bills of 1972 and 1974, the role of the federal government in education has expanded either by design or as a reaction to the problems of the times.

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<sup>1</sup>Hechinger, loc. cit.

<sup>2</sup>Rivlin, op. cit., p. 119.

The importance of education to the nation has been recognized, and federal attention will continue to focus on education for all the people, and on the general improvement of the quality of education throughout the land. Education has become a focal point of political life, and has always been a basic commitment of the American people. They have become more concerned with the quality and the quantity of education: teaching, curriculum, methodology and the equality of opportunity.

The American people are not the only ones who have become more concerned with education. The Congress and other government leaders are assuming a more active role in the development of education in the United States. An example of this is a speech by President John Kennedy to Congress on January 29, 1963, in which he explained what he thought was the federal government's obligation to education. He said:

Our concern as a nation for the future of our children and the growing demands of modern education which federal financing is better able to assist make it necessary to expand federal aid to education beyond the existing limited number of special programs.

.....

... Fundamentally, education is and must always be a local responsibility, for it thrives best when nurtured in the grass roots of our democracy. But in our present era of economic expansion, population growth, and technological advance, state, local, and private efforts are insufficient. These efforts must be reinforced by national support, if American education is to yield a maximum of individual

development and national well-being.<sup>1</sup>

According to Morphet, Kennedy's goal of national support for education has already been reached. He said it this way:

It is apparent that education is no longer the exclusive responsibility of the states. Research is no longer the exclusive responsibility of the private sector of the economy. Education, research and development are now major activities of the federal government.<sup>2</sup>

If Morphet were correct, what legislative guidelines, if any, has the federal government followed in its increased involvement with American education?

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<sup>1</sup>U.S., Congressional Record, 88th Cong., 1st Sess. (1963), CIX, Part I, 1252.

<sup>2</sup>E. L. Morphet et al., Education Organization and Administration (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969), p. 229.

## Chapter 3

### METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this investigation was to determine if federal education legislation has occurred in United States history as a response to economic, political or social crises.

### DESIGN OF THE STUDY

Since the dates which major federal education legislation was enacted were compared with the dates of three types of crises, extensive research was done on how various education authors perceived the Federal government's involvement in education in the United States.

The review of literature implied a relationship between crises and education legislation passed by the Federal government. In order to analyze this implication, it was necessary to collect data on four variables. These four variables are as follows:

- (1) Major federal education legislation in the United States from 1776 to 1976.
- (2) Major economic crises in the United States from 1776 to 1976.
- (3) Major political crises in the United States from

1776 to 1976.

- (4) Major social crises in the United States from 1776 to 1976.

If only one type of crisis had been used in the study, this crisis could have been compared with federal education legislation, and a relationship determined. This method of investigation, however, would have narrowed the scope of the study, and would not have answered the overall crises-federal education legislation question. Therefore, the investigation concerned itself with three types of crises. They were economic, political and social. These three types of crises encompass major facets of American life. Thus, data were obtained to make as thorough an assessment as possible.

The need for a broad approach to the study also applied to the time period over which data were gathered. To limit the investigation to a specific era of American history would have given only a partial answer to the problem. The approach used by the investigator was to collect data over the entire history of the United States beginning with the year 1776 and ending with the year 1976.

#### PROCEDURES

The initial step in the investigation was to develop a chronological list of major federal education legislation passed by Congress from 1776 to 1976. This list was

developed by using data from two reputable educational sources. These sources were the National Education Association and the United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Once constructed, this list comprised the data for education legislation.

The second procedure was to form three separate lists of crises that have occurred in the United States from 1776 to 1976. One list consisted of economic crises, one of political crises and one of social crises. To accomplish this task, an expert was consulted in each subject field. The following experts were contacted.

Dr. Dale Berry, Chairman, Department of  
Economics, Drake University

Dr. Charles Nelson, Chairman, Department  
of History, Drake University

Dr. Joseph Schneider, Department of  
Sociology, Drake University

Each of these individuals supplied advice on literature, and methods of obtaining data. As a result of this assistance, a tentative list of crises data was formed by the investigator for each subject. Each list was then critiqued by the appropriate expert, and after corrections were made, it was used in the investigation.

The data collected were used in the following manner: the lists of all major economic, political and social crises were combined and compared with major federal education legislation. The purpose of this comparison was to determine if major federal education legislation was passed when



some form of crises was occurring in the United States. The data gathered from this comparison were used to test the hypothesis. Additional analyses were conducted to determine if major federal education legislation was enacted when a particular type of crisis occurred. This was accomplished by comparing each list of crises with the list of major federal education legislation. Two other analyses were completed by using the composite list of crises and the list of major federal education legislation. The analyses were: to determine if when major federal education legislation was enacted some type of crisis was occurring in the United States, and if there was a relationship between crises and federal education legislation occurring simultaneously in history.

#### GATHERING THE DATA

##### Identification of Major Federal Education Legislation in the United States from 1776-1976

Two problems were encountered by the investigator while trying to establish a list of major federal education legislation from 1766 to 1976. First, a review of the literature revealed there was not complete agreement among authors as to what constitutes major federal education legislation. Second, lists of major federal education legislation developed by the different authors did not cover legislation for the entire time period used in this investigation.

Because of these two problems, it was decided that only data on federal education legislation compiled by National Education Association and United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare would be considered for this investigation. From these data, a list was constructed of major federal education legislation, and this list was used in the investigation.

#### Identification of Major Economic Crises in the United States from 1776 to 1976

Because economic crises had a relationship with business cycles, the first step in identifying and listing major economic crises was to define a business cycle. The best definition of a business cycle was offered by Mitchell, who was the originator of business cycle analysis. He said:

Business cycles are a type of fluctuation found in the aggregate economic activity of nations that organize their work mainly in business enterprises. A cycle consists of expansions occurring at about the same time in many economic activities, followed by similarly general recessions, contractions, and revivals which merge into the expansion phase of the next cycle. This sequence of change is recurrent but not periodic. In duration business cycles vary from more than one year to ten or twelve years. They are not divisible into shorter cycles of similar character with amplitudes approximating their own.<sup>1</sup>

Economic crises were one part of the business cycle.

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<sup>1</sup>Arthur F. Burns and Wesley C. Mitchell, Measuring Business Cycles (New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1946), p. 3.

The Encyclopedia Americana offered the following discussion on the subject:

They represent the most dramatic aspect of cyclical behavior. An economic crisis is a period of widespread economic and financial stress that shortly precedes the peak of general economic activity. Declines in production, employment, and income follow.<sup>1</sup>

Using this definition, an investigation was made to determine what major economic crises have occurred in United States history. In the course of the investigation, some problems arose. The first problem, and the most difficult, was the lack of available data on business activities and business cycles in the early economic history of the United States. The Americana put it this way:

For measuring fluctuations in total business activity in the United States, good data are available for the years since 1919. For some areas of business activity, adequate data are available back to the 1850's or 1860's. Charts of business cycles since 1919 show wider swings in business activity than are shown by charts for earlier cycles. One reason may be simply that more precise information is accessible for the later cycles. Another factor is that each section of the national economy has become more dependent on the rest of the economy, so that all sections are more likely to fluctuate at the same time.<sup>2</sup>

The lack of comprehensive data were also reflected in the statistical reports published by the National Bureau of Economic Research (NBER). Their published information

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<sup>1</sup>William N. Kinnard Jr., "Business Cycles," Encyclopedia Americana (1975), V, 45.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 46.

on business fluctuation, or cycles, was on a calendar year basis from 1834 to 1976, and on a monthly basis from December 1854 to 1976. Tuttle and Perry cited one of the reasons for this:

Cyclical fluctuations, as we know them today, were not recognized as such in the 18th century, although the average American was aware of changes in prices, wages, and employment.<sup>1</sup>

Another problem encountered was the disagreement among economists on what to call cyclical fluctuations in business. Some economists believed the fluctuations should be called business cycles, while others felt there should be a designation of which were major and minor business cycles. Dow reflected the controversy that existed when he wrote:

It is misleading and erroneous to place phenomena like the 1948-1949 and 1953-1954 contractions in the same category as the Great Depression of the 1930's. Cycles are different, primarily because different casual forces are at play in different environmental settings. To lump them all together in the same pot is to ignore these changing forces and environments.<sup>2</sup>

The controversy among the different economists made it difficult to determine what some economic writers and

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<sup>1</sup>Frank W. Tuttle and Joseph M. Perry, An Economic History of the United States (Cincinnati: South-Western Publishing Co., 1970), p. 105.

<sup>2</sup>Louis A. Dow, Business Fluctuations in a Dynamic Economy (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill, 1968), p. 100.

agencies considered a major economic crisis. Dow's comments were particularly poignant when determining the occurrences of major economic crises from economic data published by the NBER. This agency gave the peaks and troughs of business cycles since 1854, and it also gave the length of the cycles, but it did not list the severity of any particular economic crisis that occurred. Because of the problems mentioned above, the possibility of using a wholesale price index system to identify major economic crises was investigated. Warren and Pearson of Cornell University published a book in 1933 with an index system dating back to 1720. They used calculated averages of commodities up to the year 1890, and then connected these data with United States Bureau of Labor Statistics index numbers to complete their index series.<sup>1</sup> It was also found that the Bureau of Labor Statistics had its own wholesale price index system with index listings from 1720 to 1976. The problem of using an index system for identifying major economic crises was the average wholesale price index listings for the year a crisis occurred did not always indicate the crisis. There was an indication of it on a monthly basis, but it was not readily discernible on a yearly average until two or three years after the crisis occurred. An example of

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<sup>1</sup>George F. Warren and Frank A. Pearson, Prices (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1933), pp. 10-14.

this was the year 1837. A number of economic situations occurred which led economists and historians to refer to economic conditions of that time as the Panic of 1837. The Warren-Pearson Wholesale Price Index Table did not indicate this economic crisis in its yearly averages until 1840. For this investigation, that amount of index lag time made it difficult to use only an index system for a comparison with a specific date educational legislation was enacted. As the investigation progressed, the difficulty of identifying major economic crises in United States history became obvious. Jones commented on this over seventy-five years ago when he wrote the following about the problem:

But even the compiling of a list of crises is a difficult undertaking, since no precise line of demarcation can be drawn between general and partial crises, or between crises and other types of price fluctuations.<sup>1</sup>

Another possible way to compile a list of major economic crises was to use the crises that had been identified by economists and historians in their writings. The problem here was not only did the authors disagree on the number and length of major economic crises in American history, but they also only listed crises after the 1800s. Of all the authors investigated, Thorp's Annals was the

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<sup>1</sup>Edward D. Jones, Economic Crises (New York: Macmillan, 1900), p. 136.

source of the most extensive list of economic crises.<sup>1</sup> Because of Thorp's background with the NBER, his list was given high consideration as the only list necessary to be used in this study. However, since Thorp's list was compiled in the 1920s, it did not include the economic crisis of 1929 and beyond.

After considering the shortcomings of the various ways of identifying major economic crises, an economic expert was consulted. As a result of the consultation, it was decided the investigator would construct a list of crises. A table was constructed presenting the following data: three lists of economic crises compiled by different economic writers or sources; a commodity-price-index list giving indexes for commodity prices for the years 1776 to 1976; a list of the peaks and troughs of the business cycles from 1834 to 1976 (see Appendix A). From the data in this table, a list of major economic crises was formed. Only a crisis cited by at least two different authors or sources was considered. To further verify the crisis cited, it had to be observed on either a yearly average of a commodity-price-index or a trough of a business cycle. If the commodity-price-index was the only source for verification, an index lag time of three years was considered permissible.

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<sup>1</sup>Willard L. Thorp, Business Annals (New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, Inc., 1926), p. 32.

This index lag time was necessary to allow an economic crisis to be observed in the commodity-price-index system. These proposed procedures for identifying major economic crises were then submitted to an appropriate expert in economics for critiquing and approval. Upon receiving approval, the data collected were used in this study.

#### Identification of Major Political Crises in the United States from 1776 to 1976

From a review of the literature, it was determined the experts did not agree on what were the major political crises in United States history. In fact, most of the time the literature did not identify political problems as crises. The investigator had to assume a crisis existed because of the importance the author placed on an event. Because of these problems, an expert in American history was consulted for advice on how to construct a list of major political crises. It was decided the following procedures would be used: from a search of the literature, the investigator designated certain events as crises in American history; each designated crisis, verified by three other sources, was put on a list (see Appendix B). Once the list of political crises was completed, it was submitted to an appropriate expert for critiquing and approval. The approved list was then used for the investigation.



Identification of Major Social Crises in the United States from 1776 to 1976

A search by the investigator revealed social crises are synonymous with social problems, and the research on social problems began with the development of sociology. The term sociology was first used by the French philosopher, August Comte, in his four volumes called System of Positive Polity which were written from 1851 to 1854.<sup>1</sup> However, sociology, as a science, did not develop in the United States until approximately the 1890s.

Rubington and Weinberg stated the purpose of sociology was to deal with social interaction in situations in which two or more people adapt their conduct to each other. These authors went on to say:

Most social problems arise in the course of or in consequence of social interaction. Few of the developing disciplines in the late nineteenth century dealt with matters of this kind. Thus, partly by choice and partly by default, sociology appeared on the American scene to deal simultaneously with social problems and with social interaction. This dual mandate has been the source of much tension and conflict, both between sociology and society, on the one hand, and within the discipline of sociology, on the other.<sup>2</sup>

Skolnick and Currie gave some historical background

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<sup>1</sup>Harry E. Barnes, "Auguste Comte," Encyclopedia Britannica (1968), VI, 249.

<sup>2</sup>Earl Rubington and Martin S. Weinberg, The Study of Social Problems (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 3-4.

to the approach sociologists have taken on social problems. The earliest sociologists, according to these authors, were moralists, and expounded the virtues of thrift, hard work, sexual purity and personal discipline. They also determined social problems by these standards. As the nineteenth century began and progressed up through its first few decades, moralism was replaced by a more objective approach to social problems. From the 1930s to 1976, researchers have defined social problems as whatever the society they live in says they are.<sup>1</sup>

A different historical viewpoint on the study of social problems is given by Rubington and Weinberg in the following chronology.

1. Establishing a base - 1905-1918

During this period sociologists thought urbanism was the main source of social problems, and they dealt primarily with the problems of society.

2. Forming a scientific policy - 1918-1935

This was a period where those sociologists attempting to interpret social action through the use of scientific methods seemed to be most successful.

3. Integrating theory, method and fact - 1935-1954

Basic and applied sociology could be seen as two sides

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<sup>1</sup>Jerome Skolnick and Elliott Currie, Crises In American Institutions (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1976), pp. 2-3.

of the same coin, and problems of sociology, as well as problems of society, could be resolved by adopting the scientific approach.

#### 4. Cultivating specialties - 1954-1976

This was an era of specialization with the number of people involved in the study of sociology and social problems increasing considerably. From this increased study, data were gathered on a variety of social problems. However, the authors reported the difficult task was using the data to solve the social problems.<sup>1</sup>

As the science of Sociology developed, there was debate among the sociologists on whether concentration should be on the problems of society or the problems of sociology.<sup>2</sup> As a compromise between the two viewpoints, perspectives were developed to allow for the individual sociologists to pursue research according to their own sociological philosophy. These perspectives were as follows:

- (1) Social pathology is a term that has organic connotations. Gillin and Blackmar pointed that out when they wrote this definition:

Since society is made up of individuals bound together in social relationships, social pathology refers to the maladjustments in social relationships. The phrase

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<sup>1</sup>Rubington and Weinberg, op. cit., pp. 6-8.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 8.

is based on the analogy of bodily maladjustment of function in the organ.<sup>1</sup>

Rubington and Weinberg further clarified this organic relationship with social pathology this way:

The organic analogy arises from normative conceptions of society: that is, what exists is defined according to what ought to be. When society is considered as an organism, health is desirable, therefore good, while sickness is undesirable, therefore bad. Persons or situations diverging from expectations framed in these terms are "sick," therefore bad. Thus, in the end, a social problem for social pathologists is a violation of moral expectations.<sup>2</sup>

- (2) Social disorganization is related to the problems that develop because of social change. This social change can threaten traditions, and leave a person with no guidelines to what is right or wrong. Cooley recognized this, and wrote about how instrumental this could be in creating social problems for man. He said:

. . . that the absence of social standards is likely to lower his plane of achievement and throw him back on sensuality and other impulses.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>John R. Gillin and Frank W. Blackmar, Outlines of Sociology (New York: Macmillan, 1930), p. 19.

<sup>2</sup>Rubington and Weinberg, op. cit., p. 19.

<sup>3</sup>Charles H. Cooley, Social Organization (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1927), p. 348.

Rubington and Weinberg saw the problem as a failure in expectations. They said:

Three major failures in expectations are normlessness, culture conflict, or breakdown. With normlessness, no rules exist on how to act. With culture conflict, at least two opposing sets of rules exist on how to act. Persons in such a situation engage in behavior that violates some set of institutionalized expectations. Breakdown is but a variation on this same theme. Here rules exist, but conformity to them either does not produce the promised rewards or yields punishment instead.<sup>1</sup>

- (3) Value conflict concerns itself with social problems as social conditions which are incompatible with the values of a group. Different groups take sides, and conflict results. Rubington and Weinberg had this to say about these conflicts:

Conflicts are abrasive as well as costly; often, they result in the sacrifice of higher values on behalf of lesser-ranked values. Often they assist groups in clarifying their own values on where and when they will make a stand and, if so, for how long and at what cost; more often, they result in abortive stalemates or loss to the weaker of the two powers who are party to the conflict<sup>2</sup>

- (4) Deviant behavior is any behavior or situation that departs from the norms of the group. Under this

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<sup>1</sup>Rubington and Weinberg, op. cit., p. 52.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 86.

perspective when people are under stress, they have difficulty abiding by the rules of the group. They cannot find it possible to limit themselves in these circumstances and, thus, withdraw allegiance from the rules. If they know no bounds, and cannot accept any limits, then the results can be chaos or anomie, which means normlessness.<sup>1</sup>

- (5) Labeling is the most recent perspective developed by the sociologists. Under labeling, an attempt is made to determine what has to happen to define situations, persons, processes or events as socially problematic.<sup>2</sup>

Howard S. Becker was one of the first to name this approach to social problems when he said:

Social groups create deviance by making the rules whose infraction constitutes deviance, and by applying those rules to particular people and labeling them as outsiders. From this point of view, deviance is not a quality of the act the person commits, but rather a consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an "offender." The deviant is one to whom that label has successfully been applied; deviant behavior is behavior that people so label.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 123.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 163.

<sup>3</sup>Howard S. Becker, Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963), p. 9.

Students of labeling question methods and conceptions used by proponents of the deviant behavior perspective when studying social problems. An example of this conflict is the deviant behavior perspective defines social problems as objective departure from rules, while those in the labeling perspective define social problems as being whatever people say they are.<sup>1</sup>

After investigating background on how the study of social problems developed, and, after analyzing the approaches used in studying social problems, a definition for social problems was sought that would sum up the general consensus among sociologists as to what constitutes a social problem. Rubington and Weinberg wrote a social problem was usually defined as: an alleged situation which is incompatible with the values of a significant number of people who agree that action is necessary to alter the situation.<sup>2</sup> Other writers had these definitions for social problems: any substantial discrepancy between socially shared standards and actual conditions of social life,<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Rubington and Weinberg, op. cit., p. 219.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>3</sup>Robert K. Merton and Robert M. Nisbet, Contemporary Social Problems (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1961), p. 702.

what people think they are,<sup>1</sup> . . . an enduring, major community issue.<sup>2</sup>

Basically, these definitions were all the same and, according to Rubington and Weinberg, would all work to some degree with the five perspectives on social problems. However, each perspective tended to focus on different aspects of the social problem, and devised its own special definition.<sup>3</sup>

From an investigation of the literature, it was evident a social problem was determined by the people involved, the culture, the time and setting, and the professional people analyzing the situation. Since identifying a social problem at any particular time was dependent on many criteria, the compiling of a list of social problems in American history was a major problem for the investigator. Another point of difficulty in the investigation was virtually all research on social problems was concerned with what could be called contemporary personal social problems, such as crime, suicide, drug addiction, divorce and alcoholism.

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<sup>1</sup>Richard C. Fuller and Richard R. Magers, "The Natural History of a Social Problem" American Sociological Review VI (June 1941), 320.

<sup>2</sup>F. James Davis, Social Problems: Enduring Major Issues and Social Change (New York: The Free Press, 1970, p. 21.

<sup>3</sup>Rubington and Weinberg, op. cit., p. 10.



In other words, these issues dealt with a personal breakdown of morals or reactions to stress within their particular society. Little attention was given to issues or events that over a long period of time may have had an effect on attitudes of the populace. These issues or events could be called national social problems. Examples of these national social problems would be slavery, immigration, labor conditions, old age and citizen's rights. These problems focus on living conditions rather than moral issues.

It was possible to find research on each of the national social problems, but it was difficult to find literature that listed them chronologically in history. No literature was found that listed social problems in the form of personal or national social problems. The task confronting the investigator was to find a list of social problems in the history of the United States, even though the experts did not agree on what social problems were or how they should be studied. To accomplish this task, an expert in sociology was consulted. As a result of this consultation, it was decided the investigator would compile a list of major social problems to be used in this study.

During the course of the investigation, it was discovered federal social legislation resulted from a need to correct a prominent social problem. Farnum supported this when he said:

. . . we find a constant effort to realize by legislation certain social ideas . . .<sup>1</sup>

Since specific dates were necessary for comparing social crises with federal education legislation, the assumption was made that the date federal social legislation was enacted was the peak of the social crisis. Therefore, the date social legislation was enacted became the date assigned to a social crisis used in this study.

To gather data on major social crises, it was necessary to search sociology and American history books. From these sources, a list was compiled of major social crises in the United States from 1776 to 1976. This list was then submitted to an expert in sociology for critiquing and approval. Once approval was received, the list was used in this study.

#### HYPOTHESIS OF THE STUDY

The preceding data were collected to test the following null hypothesis.

There is no relationship between major federal education legislation and major economic, political or social crises in the United States.

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<sup>1</sup>Henry W. Farnum, Chapters in the History of Social Legislation in the United States to 1860 (Washington: Carnegie Institution, 1938), p. 6.

## TREATMENT OF THE DATA

The data were treated as follows: the lists of all major economic, political, and social crises were combined and compared with major federal education legislation. The purpose of this comparison was to determine if major federal education legislation was passed when some form of crises was occurring in the United States.

The data gathered from this comparison were used to test the hypothesis. If major federal education legislation was enacted sixty-six and two-thirds percent of the time when a major economic, political or social crisis was occurring in the United States, the hypothesis would be rejected. This point of rejection was arbitrarily set by the investigator for the following reason. If federal education legislation occurred two out of three times when crises occurred, there would be a very strong indication that this was the procedure the federal government used to identify needed education legislation.

The initial purpose of this study was to determine if when major economic, political or social crises occurred in United States history, major federal education legislation was enacted. This was accomplished by testing the hypothesis. To further clarify the crisis-education legislation relationship, additional analyses were presented as follows:

1. Each list of major crises was compared with the list of major federal education legislation to determine if, when a particular type of crisis occurred, federal education legislation was enacted.
2. The data gathered were used to determine if major economic, political or social crisis occurred when major federal education legislation was enacted in the United States from 1776 to 1976.
3. It was determined if a relationship existed between a crisis and education legislation occurring at the same time in history.

## Chapter 4

### FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this investigation was to determine if major federal education legislation was passed by Congress when a major economic, political or social crisis was occurring in the United States. The time period covered by the search encompassed all of the history of the United States from its inception as a Republic in 1776, to its two-hundredth anniversary in 1976.

The findings are presented in this chapter in six sections. These sections are as follows:

Section one gives a descriptive resumé of major federal education legislation in the United States from 1776 to 1976.

Section two gives a descriptive resumé of major economic crises in the United States from 1776 to 1976.

Section three gives a descriptive resumé of major political crises in the United States from 1776 to 1976.

Section four gives a descriptive resumé of major social crises in the United States from 1776 to 1976.

Section five presents the data in the form of tables, and an analysis is given on the findings in each table.

Section six presents results obtained from testing the hypothesis and the analyses of additional data.

MAJOR FEDERAL EDUCATION LEGISLATION IN  
THE UNITED STATES FROM 1776 to 1976

The Federal government has been involved with education since the beginning of the United States. This involvement has taken many forms, but basically it has reflected the ideals expressed in the Constitution. The type of government formed by the Constitution depends on communication, knowledge and skill to insure its perpetuity. Stevens was aware of this dependence when in 1833 he said:

If an elective republic is to endure for any great length of time, every elector must have sufficient information, not only to accumulate wealth and take care of his pecuniary concerns but to direct wisely the legislature, the ambassadors, and the executive of the nation - for some part of all these things, some agency in approving or disapproving of them, falls to every free man. If, then, the permanency of our government depends upon such knowledge, it is the duty of government to see that the means of information be diffused to every citizen. This is a sufficient answer to those who deem education a private and not a public duty - who argue that they are willing to educate their own children but not their neighbors' children.<sup>1</sup>

Stevens was advocating government aid to education at a time when it was not very fashionable. However, since 1833, government involvement in education has grown to the point where the question had been raised whether the Federal government has become too involved with education in

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<sup>1</sup>Thaddeus Stevens, "Education as a Public Duty," Annals of America VI (1968), p. 137.

the United States. In 1976, a variety of programs were used by the Federal government to support educational activities. The extent of this support can be seen in the list of major federal legislation compiled for use in this study. The list, with a brief resumé of each legislative act is as follows:

#### Northwest Ordinance of 1785

This ordinance was passed by the Continental Congress, and it dealt basically with land. However, one section mentioned education as follows:

there shall be reserved the lot No. 16, of every township, for the maintenance of public schools within the said township.<sup>1</sup>

This ordinance set a precedent for government concern with education in America.

#### Northwest Ordinance of 1787

This ordinance also dealt with land, but it is a landmark in education because of what it stated in Article III,

Religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Henry S. Commager, ed., Documents of American History, Vol. I. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1958), p. 124.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 131.

With the passage of this ordinance, the government recognized the importance of education to the well-being of America.

#### Ohio Enabling Acts of 1802-1803

These two acts provided section sixteen of each township for the support of education, and that all educational grants of land be used only for that purpose. They provided a ready-made source of income for education, and reaffirmed the ordinance of 1785's position education was important, and should be provided for when land was settled.

#### The Morrill Land Grant Act - 1862

This act was responsible for the establishment of many universities in the United States. Commager reports under this act the Federal government had given 13,000,000 acres of the public domain to the states for the establishment of colleges that would teach mechanics and agriculture.<sup>1</sup> This was done not only to dispose of land, but it also filled a need for the upgrading of agricultural and engineering technology in the United States.

#### Smith-Hughes Act - 1917

It was hoped this bill would promote vocational education and home economics training in high schools. Provisions were made for teachers' salaries, and it had

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 412.



an element of matching funds.

#### Vocational Rehabilitation Act - 1918

This act was specifically designed to take care of returning veterans from World War I. Money was provided for rehabilitation through training of the war veterans.

#### Surplus Property Act - 1919

After World War I, the Federal government offered surplus machines and tools to educational institutions at fifteen percent of their real value.

#### Smith-Bankhead Act - 1920

This act created the Federal Board of Vocational Education. Under it, states received money to pay teachers in the field of home economics, industrial arts and the trades. There was also a provision to provide funds for training people in these subjects.

#### Lanham Act - 1941

When military bases and factories expanded in size because of World War II, the influx of people into certain geographic areas caused serious problems to schools in these areas. The act provided funds for buildings and services to these schools to help with the increased enrollment and loss of tax base.

### Service Man's Readjustment Act - 1944

This act, commonly called the G. I. Bill, was passed in 1944 to provide education for the returning servicemen. More than ten million men and women had gone to war, and their return was traumatic to the economy. The provision for education and training kept some veterans out of the job market for a time, thus lessening the economic impact of their return. It also built up technical knowledge in the country which contributed to prosperity in general. Veterans could get unemployment benefits for a year, guaranteed loans on homes, and most of their tuition paid at colleges or trade schools.

### Surplus Property Act - 1944

After World War II, the government had an abundance of property it no longer needed. The property was disposed of by giving it to schools and colleges. The dispersion of the property was for the avowed purpose of health, education and civil defense.

### National School Lunch Act - 1946

This act gave grant-in-aids for school lunches. It really served two purposes; one was it took care of surplus commodities in the country such as chicken, eggs and peanuts. This enabled the price to stay up on these goods. Second, it filled a need in the country for school lunches. It has been one of the most popular education laws among school

administrations.

#### Smith-Mundt Act - 1948

This law provided for the interchange of persons, knowledge and skills between the United States and foreign countries. It came at a time when the cold war was an international problem. The act was an attempt to reach a better understanding between the United States and the rest of the world.

#### Impacted Area Aid - 1950

Some communities were in trouble because of government installations in their proximity. This was particularly true during the Korean War. As the government brought people to work these installations, it created enrollment problems in the schools, and narrowed their tax base. The government passed this law to help these areas. Actually, it was an extension of the Lanham Act of 1941.

#### Library Services Act - 1956

The act developed a five-year program to help the states extend their library services to rural areas.

#### National Defense Education Act - 1958

The act gave funds to the states to strengthen certain critical areas in education. These areas were science, mathematics, foreign languages, testing, guidance, graduate work and research for modern teaching methods. It also

provided student loans and funds for vocational education in technical occupations necessary to the national defense.

#### Education of Mentally Retarded Children Act - 1958

This law provided for federal grants to train teachers for the mentally handicapped.

#### Exceptional Children (Deaf) - 1961

The law provided funds to train teachers of deaf children, and made speech pathologists and audiologists available to them.

#### Manpower Development and Training Act - 1962

Its main provision was to retrain people in new skills. It was designed specifically for the unemployed, and was meant to retrain them in jobs where there was a demand for workers.

#### Educational Television Act - 1962

Actually, the law was an amendment to the Communications Act of 1934. The 1962 law provided grants to educational institutions to assist in building educational television stations.

#### Health Professions Educational Assistance Act of 1963

The law provided funds for construction and rehabilitation of teaching facilities for physicians, dentists and other health professions. It also provided loans to

students in the medical profession.

#### Higher Education Facilities Act - 1963

The act provided for a program of grants and loans for classrooms, and laboratories in colleges, universities, junior colleges and other institutions at the posthigh school level.

#### Vocational Education Act - 1963

The act revised vocational education programs, and added to the scope of the National Defense Education Act.

#### Civil Rights Act (Title IV) - 1964

This law had four important points. First, it provided for institutes to train people to deal with the special education problems resulting from desegregation. Second, it allowed for grants to pay inservice training to deal with problems caused by desegregation. Third, it gave school boards technical assistance in desegregation. Fourth, the law required there be no discrimination in federal programs.

#### Economic Opportunity Act - 1964

One of the outstanding features of this law was the provision for a Job Corps. The purpose of this corps was to provide work experience for unemployed young people. Training was done at conservation camps and residential centers. Some of the programs developed out of this act were Head Start, Follow Through and Upward Bound. It also established

Volunteers in Service to America (Vista). Most of these programs were aimed at the economic and educationally deprived in America.

#### Amendments to National Defense Education Act (NDEA) and Impact School Aid - 1964

The law expanded the NDEA and impact school aid programs. Institutes for teachers were expanded to include teachers of English, history, reading and geography.

#### Elementary and Secondary Education Act - 1965

The law was passed to aid children of low income families. It provided funds for library resource material and textbooks. Approximately one billion dollars per year was earmarked for implementing and maintaining this law.

#### Higher Education Act - 1965

One of the most notable features of this law was the establishment of the National Teachers Corps. It also provided for work-study programs, research library resources, teacher training programs and insured student loans.

#### National Technical Institute for the Deaf Act - 1965

This law provided for establishing, constructing, equipping and operating a school for postsecondary education, and technical training for deaf people.

### International Education Act - 1966

Under this act, funds were provided for institutions of higher education to develop and improve research, and training in international studies.

### Elementary and Secondary Education Amendments of 1966

The law established a National Advisory Committee on Handicapped Children and a Bureau for Education and Training of the Handicapped. It also authorized funds for expansion and improvement of programs for the education of handicapped children at the preschool, elementary and secondary school levels.

### Elementary and Secondary Amendments of 1967

Basically, there were three important points to this law. First, it established dropout prevention projects. Second, Title III and Title IV control were passed to the states. Third, bilingual programs were established for certain ethnic problem areas.

### Education Professions Development Act - 1967

The law was actually an amendment to the Higher Education Act of 1965. The main purpose of this law was to improve the teaching and help meet the shortage of trained educators. It also extended the Teacher Corps for three years.

Handicapped Children's Early Education Assistance  
Act - 1968

The law authorized education centers for handicapped preschool children. It was also designed to develop teaching programs for preschool handicapped children.

Higher Education Amendments of 1968

The amendments provided programs to help college students who came from disadvantaged backgrounds. The programs included counseling and tutoring.

Elementary and Secondary Education Assistance  
Programs - 1970

This act established a National Commission on School Finance. It also authorized grants to local and state agencies for the purpose of planning and evaluation of education programs.

School Lunch Amendments - 1970

The act actually amended the 1946 School Lunch Act and the Child Nutrition Act of 1966. It provided for free or reduced-price lunches to every poverty-level child. In addition, it increased funds for a pilot breakfast program in the nation's schools.

Environmental Quality Education Act of 1970

This act provided twenty-nine million dollars over a three-year period for curriculum development, the training of teachers, and the establishment of community programs in



environmental education. It also established an Office of Environmental Education to help develop an environmental curriculum, and to distribute materials on ecology.

#### Educational Amendments of 1972

The act established a National Institute of Education, prohibited sex discrimination in admissions to vocational, professional, graduate and undergraduate schools, and amended current Office of Education programs to help them meet special needs.

#### Educational Amendments of 1974

Among other things, the amendments established a National Center for Education Statistics. They also specified the Office of Education would be the Federal agency responsible for all programs of financial assistance.

#### Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975

The act gave the Indians the opportunity to have more say in the establishment and conduct of their education programs.

#### Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1975

The act was basically designed to alleviate the problem of Vietnamese refugees in this country. It provided funds to train and educate these refugees so they could be assimilated into the American culture.

MAJOR ECONOMIC CRISES IN THE UNITED STATES  
FROM 1776 TO 1976

An economic crisis occurs at the trough of the business cycle. This is the low point of the four-phase cycle. The initial phase of the cycle is the expansion-recovery period that starts after the trough hit its low point. It then moves to a peak which is considered prosperity. From there, it begins a decline to a trough. If the trough is low enough, it might be called a depression or major economic crisis. It is at this trough, or crisis point, that a business problem occurs. Unemployment is high, money becomes tight, interest rates go up, business failures increase, the number of investments decreases and retail sales are slow. Kinnard gives this informative description of the situation:

The crisis stage is a period of considerable uncertainty. Only in retrospect can it be fully understood. Expectations about the future vary greatly among decision-makers in production and financial circles. Contradictory advice on investments, on inventory policy, and on buying consumers' goods or producers' goods is given on every side. In large measure the uncertainty and hesitancy about the future helps to tip the scales in favor of a general decline.<sup>1</sup>

To complete this study, it was necessary to select major economic crises that occurred in American history. A

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<sup>1</sup>William N. Kinnard, Jr., "Business Cycles," Encyclopedia Americana (1975), V, 46.

process was used to identify the crises, and an analysis of each crisis was made. The selected crises are as follows:

#### Economic Crisis of 1785

The years preceding the Revolutionary War were troubled years for the American people. They not only had political problems, but the Colonial economy was in a depressed state. Arguments with England over navigation acts and taxes, and disagreements between colonies over weights, measures and values of money played a part in depressing the economy. During the Revolutionary War, the economy was disrupted by three factors; inability to trade with England, destruction of property, and uncertainty of day-to-day living. The end of the war brought a boom period that was short-lived. Rising prices were precipitated by the issuance of large quantities of paper money. Thus, currency was unstable and this, combined with a flood of the American market with British goods, helped deflate the American economy. The result was a depressed market and the economic crisis of 1785. The market remained depressed until recovery was evident in 1890.

#### Economic Crisis of 1796

The crisis developed around an attempt to return to metal rather than paper as a basis for money. This caused prices to fall. Although prosperity continued in the South, there were many business failures in the North. Money was

very tight, and there was a minor panic in the spring of 1796. Major panic occurred in 1797, and economic conditions remained depressed until 1799.

#### Economic Crisis of 1807

This economic crisis was tied with the Embargo Act of 1807. The act was enacted when Thomas Jefferson was president, and it prohibited the export of goods from the United States. The purpose was to get France and England to respect the United States, and allow it to trade freely on the oceans without its ships being seized or its sailors impressed. The act was particularly severe on New England shipping, and was finally repealed in 1809, but not before America suffered an economic depression. Economic conditions improved considerably in 1810.

#### Economic Crisis of 1815

During the War of 1812, trade with England was curtailed. This curtailment allowed American merchants to increase their manufacturing. However, when the war ended European goods flooded the American market depressing the economy, which caused a post-war depression. Economic conditions improved after 1816, but business had not fully recovered when the Crisis of 1819 occurred.

#### Economic Crisis of 1819

This was a severe economic crisis, and it marked the

first economic crisis in America that involved a bank. It centered around the Second Bank of the United States trying to curb land speculation. Land values dropped very quickly resulting in failures of banks and mercantile houses. Reduced foreign trade, unemployment, tight money and other financial difficulties occurred. Depressed conditions continued until 1822.

#### Economic Crisis of 1825

Jones ranked this economic crisis as the first international crisis because it affected the United States, England and other countries. It began because of a disturbance in the cotton trade.<sup>1</sup> Panic occurred in July, banks failed, money tightened, and severe unemployment developed by the end of the year. Depressed conditions continued until late 1826 when a moderate recovery occurred.

#### Economic Crisis of 1837

This crisis occurred during the time Andrew Jackson was president. It revolved around a great number of investments in land, cotton, slaves, canals and road building. Money for investments became readily available when the Bank of the United States took its money and placed it in satellite banks where paper money was issued against it. The problem was these satellite banks financed many speculative

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<sup>1</sup>Edward D. Jones, Economic Crises (New York: Macmillan, 1900), p. 10.

land projects which concerned many economists. Jackson was prevailed upon to issue a Specie Circular which he did on July 11, 1836. This required payment for public land in gold or silver. Immediately, the economy collapsed taking with it over six hundred banks. Cotton prices fell, a panic developed, unemployment rose, and the economy was generally depressed. This depression continued until mid-May 1838 when a slight revival occurred. The recovery was short-lived as the economy dropped again, and remained in a depressed state until a revival occurred in mid-year 1843.

#### Economic Crisis of 1847

The crisis was precipitated by a collapse of the English Commodity Exchange affecting the money markets of Paris, Amsterdam and New York. A panic occurred in the United States during November when market prices collapsed. The economy revived in late 1848.

#### Economic Crisis of 1857

The causes of this panic were overspeculation in railroad building, railroad securities and wheat. It was precipitated by the failure of the Ohio Life Insurance and Trust Company. The company was really a bank, rather than an insurance company. It was unable to meet its obligations upon the demand of its clients and thus failed, setting off a downward trend in the entire economy of the United States. Hurwitz reported the resulting unemployment and agrarian

unrest were factors in the growth of the new Republican party which started about this time.<sup>1</sup>

It was a period of tight money, runs on banks, and low stock prices with specie payment suspended from October to December. Economic recovery began in 1859.

### Economic Crisis of 1873

Two events precipitated the economic panic that began this year. Jay Cooke and Company, one of the leading banks in the United States, failed and railroad stock prices collapsed. Unemployment was a serious problem, and many other banks failed. The New York Stock Exchange closed its doors for ten days, and banks suspended currency payments. During the period there was a great deal of labor unrest. Recovery started in the last half of 1878 with prosperity coming to the United States in 1879.

### Economic Crisis of 1884

The year 1884 was a good year for foreign wheat crops, and this hurt the exports of wheat from the United States. As a result of the reduction in exports, prices fell in the United States. This decline in prices, combined with stagnation in the trades and industries sector of the economy,

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<sup>1</sup>Howard L. Hurwitz, An Encyclopedia Dictionary of American History (New York: Washington Square Press, 1974), p. 512.

caused high unemployment.

During the year money became tight, banks failed, and stock prices fell. Recovery started in summer of 1885 and continued into 1886. Full prosperity returned in 1887.

#### Economic Crisis of 1890

The depressed business activity in the latter part of 1890 had more than one explanation. The Sherman Anti-trust Act was passed by Congress in July. This could have caused a drop in stocks and bonds prices. Following this act, the McKinley tariff went into effect in October, and this discouraged trade and created unemployment. Money became tight in November, and over the next few months many banks failed. Another factor contributing to the economic crisis was the large influx of immigrants who created unemployment problems. Revival started in August of 1891, and by 1892 prosperity had returned.

#### Economic Crisis of 1893

This economic crisis was considered by most economists as one of the worst in the history of the United States. There was an indication of economic problems when the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad failed in early 1893. This was followed closely by the failure of the National Cordage Company. Both of these businesses were prominent in the American economy. Later, the Union Pacific and Northern Pacific Railroads failed, and America was confronted with an enormous



economic problem. The problem centered around gold. This precious metal was withdrawn from the United States by European investors who sold their American stocks because they needed money for their financial problems at home. A further complication to the gold problem was the Sherman Silver Purchase Act of 1890. The Act stipulated gold would be used for the purchase of silver. The panic reached its height in May, and the crisis was most severe in August of 1893. As in most nineteenth century economic crises in the United States, there was overspeculation in railroads and an uncontrolled stock market. It was estimated that, by the end of the year, 491 banks and 15,000 commercial institutions failed in the United States.<sup>1</sup> Revival started in 1897, and prosperity returned during 1898.

#### Economic Crisis of 1907

On March 13, 1907, the stock market began to fall and, by mid-summer, businesses were beginning to fail. Money became very tight and, on October 22, 1907, the Knickerbocker Trust Company in New York City failed. Part of the problem was most of the reserves of the smaller banks in the United States were held by a few banks on Wall Street in New York. When something happened to one of these Wall Street banks, it affected the whole nation. A panic followed the fall of

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<sup>1</sup>Richard B. Morris, ed., Encyclopedia of American History (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1961), p. 530.

Knickerbocker Trust. President Theodore Roosevelt attempted to avert a long depression by allowing United States Steel Company to acquire the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company to prevent it from failing. This was in violation of the anti-trust laws. Despite his action, the depression lasted until the last half of 1909.

#### Economic Crisis of 1914

The crisis started in 1913 when unemployment increased due to a decline in production. When 1914 began, economic conditions were growing steadily worse, unemployment was extensive, business failures were increasing, and there was a decline in foreign trade. The Stock Market collapsed, and was closed from July to December. To complicate the situation, the beginning of World War I in Europe caused bond prices to fall. European demands for United States goods during the war brought prosperity back to America in 1915.

#### Economic Crisis of 1920

The crisis of 1920 was a post World War I depression. It was the result of tight money and a glutted domestic market with large inventories. Morris reported there were twenty thousand business failures in 1921, and nearly five million unemployed.<sup>1</sup> Recovery started in the latter part of 1921, and prosperity returned in 1922.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 331.

Economic Crisis of 1929

This economic crisis was often referred to as the Great Depression. It was considered by most economists as being the deepest depression in the history of the United States. It was precipitated by the fall of the stock market on October 24, 1929. On this October day, thirteen million shares of stock changed hands and, by November 13, 1929, more than thirty billion dollars had been lost by investors.<sup>1</sup> The major cause of this crisis was overspeculation, with too many stocks bought with very little money down. At the same time, other contributing factors were agriculture problems in the United States, and a decrease in foreign trade.

Between 1929 and 1932, industrial production fell by one-half, and unemployment was close to thirteen million. At this time, one-quarter of the work force in the United States was unemployed.<sup>2</sup> The depression deepened with the low point coming in March of 1933. Banks closed and mortgages on farms were foreclosed, while bread lines formed for the increasing number of unemployed. Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected President in 1932. He immediately started government programs to strengthen the economy, and put an end to the economic crisis confronting the nation.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 338.

<sup>2</sup>Ross M. Robertson, History of the American Economy (New York: Harcourt Brace Johanovich, Inc., 1973), p. 697; see also Hurwitz, op. cit., p. 303.

President Roosevelt's program was called the New Deal, and a main point of this program was deficit spending for the purpose of creating jobs. His efforts were moderately successful as business activity and prices rose bringing some recovery to the economy by 1937. However, in that year, another recession set in for a brief period.

### Economic Crisis of 1937

This crisis was precipitated by the Federal Reserve System increasing the amount of downpayment required to purchase securities. This created a stock market collapse which was rather severe for a short period. Actually, this crisis was part of the whole economic crisis period from 1929 to 1940. During this time, unemployment really never improved, and there were still ten million people without jobs in 1939. What finally brought an end to the crisis was the start of World War II in Europe on September 1, 1939. America began to prepare for war, and when it officially entered the conflict on December 8, 1941, prosperity was assured.

The United States remained prosperous from 1941 to 1976. During that time period there were peaks and troughs in business, but none of the troughs was serious enough to be labeled a major economic crisis.

MAJOR POLITICAL CRISES IN THE UNITED STATES  
FROM 1776 TO 1976

The political crises selected for use in this study were chosen because they met certain criteria and standards. To meet the criteria, the investigator searched for crises that posed a threat to the following; the checks and balance system of the United States government, the processes of the democratic system, the philosophy of freedom, equal rights and individualism, and the physical control of the country by the Federal government.

It is, indeed, possible a case could be made for the inclusion of other political crises besides those selected for the study. However, during the search for data, several standards had to be met. First, the crisis selected had to meet the chosen criteria. Second, the data had to be available from at least three sources. Third, an attempt was made to select crises that were main issues of their particular time in history.

As a result of using the above criteria and standards, the investigator selected the crises on the following pages. They are listed in the order they occurred in history. The resumé given about each crisis points out its importance in history, and gives pertinent data about the occurrence.

The Revolutionary War - (1776-1781)

It was not the intention of the investigator to give a complete history of the Revolutionary War. It was

important, however, that the crisis nature of the Revolution be brought out and discussed. This was the beginning of the United States, and what happened at this time would determine the destiny of the new nation.

Degler called the Revolution one of the great epochs in human history because it was founded on the principle of self-government and the protection of individual rights.<sup>1</sup> Other writers saw it as a civil war because thousands of Americans remained loyal to England.<sup>2</sup> It was many things to many people, depending on their station in life at the time. If the Colonists had lost, the idea of freedom and individualism would have been crushed in America. This is born out by the fact England had plans for the colonies when the war was over. One such plan, put forth by Joseph Galloway, was called a Chart Blanche. Under it, all forms of government in the Colonies were to be done away with, and new policies established.<sup>3</sup> Some loyalists to England advocated that one of these new policies should establish a system of nobility

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<sup>1</sup>Carl N. Degler et al., The Democratic Experience, Vol. 1 (3rd ed.; Glenview: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1973), p. 28.

<sup>2</sup>Henry F. Bedford and Trevor Colbourn, The Americans: A Brief History (2d ed.; New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc. 1976), p. 70.

<sup>3</sup>Robert R. Palmer, "An Ambivalent Revolution", Conflict or Consensus: In Early American History, Eds. A. F. Davis and H. D. Woodman (Boston: D. C. Heath and Co., 1968), p. 130.

and a parliament similar to England.

After the war, internal strife brought problems to the Confederation, and as Feder said, "threatened the very existence of the new nation."<sup>1</sup> The Confederacy had no power to levy taxes. Economic troubles, as well as land disputes and rebellions, were of great concern to some of the founding fathers. In a letter to James Madison, dated November 5, 1786, George Washington expressed his fears the country was heading toward "anarchy and confusion!"<sup>2</sup> Gouverneur Morris of Pennsylvania said, on January 1, 1783, he was concerned about the military taking over the country.<sup>3</sup> In contrast to the alarmist attitude of Washington and Morris, Thomas Jefferson saw the problems confronting the country as healthy and necessary to establishment of good government.<sup>4</sup> Perhaps Jefferson was right, as the colonists were able to overcome their problems, and establish a government unlike anything that had been constructed before. They formed a government

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<sup>1</sup>Bernard Feder, ed. Viewpoints: USA (New York: American Book Co., 1972), p. 34.

<sup>2</sup>John C. Fitzpatrick, ed. George Washington: Writings, XXIX (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1939), p. 52, Cited by Feder, p. 44.

<sup>3</sup>Jared Sparks, ed. Gouverneur Morris: Life, I (Boston: Gray and Bowen, 1832), p. 249, Cited by Feder, p. 45.

<sup>4</sup>Julian P. Boyd, ed. Thomas Jefferson: Papers, XI (Princeton: University Press, 1955), pp. 92-93, Cited by Feder, p. 45.

that gains strength by protecting the rights of its people.

### Ratifying the Constitution - (1787-1789)

The Constitutional Convention met in Philadelphia from May 25, to September 17, 1787. At the end of the Convention, only forty-two of the original fifty-five members were there. Of these forty-two members, only thirty-nine signed the final draft of the Constitution. While considerable compromise was essential, few, if any, of the members were completely happy with the final document. Nevertheless, it was submitted to the states for ratification, and the crisis began. No member of the convention believed all thirteen states would approve of their work. Therefore, the stipulation was made only nine of the thirteen colonies had to ratify the document before passage would be confirmed. Once the document was given to the people, sides were taken, and the debate began in earnest. The public had expected the old Articles of Confederation would be revised. They didn't expect a new document, and, particularly, they didn't anticipate one that vested so much power in a federal government. It was this issue that was the most controversial. The federalist favored a centralized government, and the anti-federalists were opposed. Other points of contention were the provisions for an army, the omission of reference to God, and the absence of a Bill of Rights. The latter item invoked a promise from the federalists it would be one of the first items of business in the new government. The danger



was the Constitution would not be ratified. This would mean the Colonies would have to continue to operate on the Articles of Confederation which, by this time, were ineffective and unable to control the individual states. It was imperative the Constitution be ratified. Finally, on June 21, 1788, New Hampshire became the ninth state to do so. It was a crisis situation. Ratification meant a unified country, and without it, each state might become a separate small country.

#### Alien and Sedition Acts (June and July 1798)

The four acts that made up the Alien and Sedition Acts were passed by a Federalist Congress, and they were aimed at anti-federalist writers of French and English descent. The four acts are: the Naturalization Act of June 18, 1798, which concerned itself with aliens and the procedures they had to follow to become citizens; the Alien Act, passed June 25, 1798, which gave the President power to deal with any alien he thought dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States; the Alien Enemies Act of July 6, 1798, which allowed the government to incarcerate aliens fourteen years and older who were citizens of a country with whom the United States was at war; the Sedition Act, passed July 14, 1798, which was probably the most potentially dangerous act of the four. It allowed the government to arrest anyone who wrote, printed, uttered or published false, scandalous and malicious

writings against the Congress or the President.<sup>1</sup> These acts were significant because, for a moment in United States history, those in power forgot a premise on which the country had been founded. That premise was freedom. It was a political crisis in which, if the ideas put forth in these acts had been accepted and perpetuated, the United States would not have remained a democratic nation.

#### War of 1812 - 1815

England and France were at war in 1803. What happened in this war eventually caused the War of 1812 between the United States and England. Both France and England attempted to stop shipping into each other's country. Whether a ship was a neutral ship or not made little difference. The English, particularly, alienated the Americans because of the impressment of sailors from American ships into service on British ships. The situation was compounded when, in 1807, the English fleet fired on the American frigate Chesapeake, killing three men. They then searched the ship, and impressed four men. Jefferson could have asked Congress for war because of this act, and probably would have received approval. Instead, he asked Congress to pass a law putting an embargo on all American trade with foreign countries. The purpose was to force England, who depended on America for many goods,

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<sup>1</sup>Commager, op. cit., p. 177-178.

to reconsider her warlike actions against American ships. The embargo caused economic problems in America that further incensed the Americans against England. In March 1809, Jefferson lifted the embargo, but when James Madison became President in the same year, the Nonintercourse Act was passed. This act prohibited trade with England and France until they ceased interfering with American rights. The act was soon found to be ineffective and Macon's Bill Number II, for nonintercourse, was passed to take its place. This law permitted trade with both England and France, but provided America could go back to nonintercourse with either country if one of them agreed to respect American Rights. Napoleon, the leader of France, convinced Madison he was carrying out the agreed regulations. As a result, America once again invoked nonintercourse with England.

Besides the problem with England and France, the United States was having trouble with Indians in the West. The Indian problem was created by white settlers taking land the Indians considered theirs. England capitalized on this by aligning themselves with the Indians, and supplying them with arms. The problem with the Indians came to a climax when two Shawnees, Tecumseh and his brother, called The Prophet, organized most of the Eastern tribes into a federation designed to fight the white man. In an attempt to avert an all out war, the United States, in 1811, destroyed the Prophet's village on Tippecanoe Creek in Indiana. This

action was successful in dissipating the immediate threat of an Indian war.

The Congress elected in 1810 contained many men who were called War Hawks because they advocated war with England. They wanted England punished for her impressment of American sailors, interference with shipping, and for inciting the Indians. Another reason given by some historians was some politicians wanted to annex Canada, and put an end to British control there. Bedford and Colbourn wrote that a leading cause of the war was a feeling on the part of the United States it had been slighted by England.<sup>1</sup>

The war was wrought with blunders and incompetencies on both sides. Bailey reported the Americans were not unified in the effort, and it was America's worst-fought major war.<sup>2</sup> Some highlights of the war were as follows: the Canadians' capture of Detroit, Captain Oliver Hazard Perry's victory over the British on Lake Erie, and Commodore Thomas Macdonough's victory over the British on Lake Champlain, which stopped an invasion threat. Other noteworthy events were the burning of the White House in Washington in retaliation for the Americans having burned the Parliament building in Toronto, Canada, the battle of Fort McHenry at which

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<sup>1</sup>Bedford and Colbourn, op. cit., p. 125.

<sup>2</sup>Thomas A. Bailey, The American Pageant: A History of the Republic (5th ed., Boston: D. C. Heath and Co., 1975), p. 218.

Francis Scott Key wrote "The Star Spangled Banner", and the Battle of New Orleans where the Americans won their greatest victory.

The war was finally ended by a treaty signed in Ghent, Belgium on December 24, 1814. However, the hostilities continued until the United States Congress ratified the treaty in February, 1815. The United States didn't do well in the war, and many people were surprised at the favorable terms the treaty provided for America. Britain made no formal pledge to respect American rights but, from that time on, she did. No land was lost or gained in the West by the Americans, but they did agree to respect Indian rights.

The crises involved in this war were several. First, once the war started, the Americans were fighting for their lives and country. Second, the Indian problem was a real threat to the United States. The Indians had the backing of England, who supplied them arms. Considering these arms and the federation of tribes accomplished by Tecumseh, it appears the Americans were facing a real threat. Another more subtle crisis was the attitude of the men in the government. The desire on the part of some of these men to use war to gain land was a dangerous precedent. Finally, it was a time when the United States was at a crossroads as a new nation. It needed the prestige and recognition the war brought it through confrontation with European powers. War was also necessary to provide the unity needed for the new

Republic to survive and grow.

### Missouri Compromise - 1820

Slavery was already a controversial issue in the United States when Missouri made application to come into the union as a slave state. Representative James Tallmadge of New York succeeded in getting an amendment passed by the House that specified no more slaves could be brought into Missouri, and the children, born to slave parents already there, would be gradually set free. The Southerners immediately saw this as a threat to sectional balance between free states and slave states, which at the time was eleven for each in the Senate. The problem was a major one to the South, who had seen the more prosperous North gain additional seats in the House, and now their equal political power in the Senate was being threatened. Compromise was the only solution, and Henry Clay of Kentucky played a leading role. Missouri was to be admitted as a slave state but, at the same time, Maine, which had been part of Massachusetts, would be admitted as a free state, thus keeping the balance at twelve and twelve. Missouri would be allowed to keep its slaves, but slavery would be outlawed in the remainder of the Louisiana Purchase north of Line  $36^{\circ} 30'$ , which was actually the south boundary of Missouri. The compromise postponed a major problem for thirty years, but it promoted sectionalism, and was an omen of things to come. Jefferson described it well when he wrote that it was "like a fire bell in the

night . . . I considered it at once as the knell of the Union. It is hushed, indeed, for the moment. But this is a reprieve only, not a final sentence."<sup>1</sup>

#### Mexican War - 1846-1848

President John Tyler urged the Congress to annex Texas, and it finally did so a few days before he left office in 1845. This act increased the tensions with Mexico, and led to war. When James K. Polk ascended to the presidency, he tried to buy California from Mexico, but the Mexican government would not sell. In fact, the Mexican officials refused to talk with John Slidell, Polk's personal representative, about the matter. Another problem was the United States claimed Mexico owed reparations of three million dollars for damaged American property. President Polk forced a confrontation by sending a military force into an area close to where Mexican troops were stationed. The desired conflict between the two forces finally came and the Congress, at Polk's request, declared war.<sup>2</sup> During the war, Captains Robert Stockton and John C. Fremont captured California, and General Winfield Scott seized Mexico City.

The war ended with the signing of the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo in 1848. It was a small war with some

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<sup>1</sup>Hurwitz, op. cit., p. 448.

<sup>2</sup>Bailey, op. cit., p. 310, 5th ed.

thirteen thousand Americans losing their lives, most of whom died of disease. As a result of the war, America acquired a considerable amount of land and, as Bailey wrote, "the war was a blood-splattered schoolroom of the Civil War."<sup>1</sup>

The Mexican War is important in American history, not only for serving as a training ground for soldiers who later fought in the Civil War, but because of what it did to American relations with Latin America. According to Bailey, before the war, the United States was regarded with some friendliness, but afterward it was feared, referred to as the "Colossus of the North," and condemned as a greedy and untrustworthy bully.<sup>2</sup>

#### Compromise of 1850

California, in 1850, was ready for statehood. If it came into the Union as a free state, it would upset the sectional balance. In other words, the spectre of the slave problem that resulted in the Compromise of 1820 had risen again. Henry Clay, of Kentucky, attempted to settle the issue by submitting a bill to Congress. A controversy ensued over the provisions in the bill, and it was only through the efforts of Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, that the five laws in the bill were finally passed separately.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 313-314.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 315.



They provided California would be a free state, territory from Mexico would be organized without deciding the slavery question, the Texas-New Mexico boundary dispute would be settled in return for the Federal government assuming Texas' debts, slave trade would end in the District of Columbia, a more stringent fugitive slave law would be in effect, and Utah and New Mexico would be admitted to the Union with, or without, slavery according to the wishes of its people.

Once again the issue of slavery was not settled, but the crisis facing the union was temporarily resolved, if for only a short time.

#### Civil War - 1861-1865

By the 1850s, the United States was approaching a physical confrontation between the North and South. Several things happened to set the stage for war. First, the Fugitive Slave law, which was part of the Compromise of 1850, caused a turmoil among northern abolitionists which added to sectional tensions between the North and South. These tensions were considerably enhanced by the book Uncle Tom's Cabin, written by Harriet Beecher Stowe. Slavery became more personal to both Northerners and Southerners after they read the book or saw it dramatized in a theatre.

Second, the Kansas-Nebraska Act was passed in 1854. Bailey called the act "a curtain raiser to a terrible drama and one of the most momentous measures ever to pass

Congress."<sup>1</sup> Stephen A. Douglas was the senator given credit for guiding this bill through Congress. He thought it was a peaceful approach to the issue of slavery in Kansas. It was anything but that, and, before long, the state was referred to as "bloody Kansas." The act, in effect, repealed the Compromises of 1820 and 1850 and also the Fugitive slave law. It provided for the principle of popular sovereignty, which would allow the people of the state to decide whether or not they wanted slavery. The debate over the bill in Congress split both the Democrat and Whig parties, and led to the new midwestern-based Republican party. More importantly, it allowed sectionalism to once again become a prominent issue. Kansas became a battleground with both sides attempting to fill the state with their supporters. So-called Border Ruffians from Missouri crossed into Kansas to vote for a proslavery legislature, and fraud marked most of the elections.

On March 6, 1857, the Supreme Court handed down the Dred Scott decisions which helped dispel any hope for peace between the North and South. Scott was a slave who had lived with his master for five years in the free territories of Illinois and Wisconsin. Because of his long residency on free soil, he sued for his freedom. Some historians feel the Supreme Court should have refused to hear the case, but

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 417.

under the leadership of Chief Justice Robert Brooke Taney from the slave state of Maryland, it decided to pass judgment on all of slavery. Basically, its decision was, since Scott was a slave and not a citizen, he could not sue in federal court. The court went further, and ruled blacks were permanently barred from citizenship. It then decided Congress had no power to prohibit slavery, and slaves were property whose owners were protected by the fifth amendment. The decision was hailed by the South and condemned in the North adding to further sectional conflict.

Another incident that helped precipitate the Civil War was provided by John Brown, a radical abolitionists, who, in October 1859, decided he would arm the slaves and lead them against their owners. Brown, and some of his followers, seized the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia, and in the process killed seven men and wounded a number of others. The slaves refused to follow him, and he was subsequently captured by federal troops led by Colonel Robert E. Lee. Brown was found guilty of treason and hanged on December 2, 1859.

When the election of 1860 came, the country was on the brink of war, and political conventions held to select Presidential candidates helped precipitate the conflict. The Southerners walked out of the Democrat Convention when they didn't get their wishes on slavery. As a result, the Northern Democrats nominated Stephen A. Douglas, while the

Southern Democrats chose John C. Breckinridge as their candidate. The Northern Republicans nominated Abraham Lincoln, and a fourth party, which had been hastily formed in an attempt to save the Union, nominated John Bell of Tennessee. Lincoln received forty percent of the vote and was elected. South Carolina immediately seceded from the Union and, within a few months, ten more Southern states followed.

Actually, no physical conflict occurred until April 12, 1861, when the South fired on Fort Sumter and its garrison of some one hundred men. The North then responded by calling up a militia, and war was a reality.

The historians have argued for more than one hundred years about the actual causes of the war. Some claim it was an economic war, a conflict between the agrarian South and the industrialized North. Others are convinced slavery was the dominate cause. Whatever the reason, or reasons, the war was the greatest crisis the United States had encountered to that time. The Constitution, as well as the principles upon which the country was founded, were at stake.

#### Reconstruction and the Impeachment of Andrew Johnson -1865-1871

General Robert E. Lee's surrender to General Ulysses S. Grant at Appomattox, Virginia, on April 9, 1865, can be called the end of the Civil War. Within a month, all Southern commanders had laid down their arms, and a disastrous war was over. For the South, however, some bitter times were

ahead. Economically the South was destroyed, plantations based on slavery no longer existed, people were displaced, homes and crops were ruined, and the future of the whole region seemed hopeless.

Lincoln had wanted to treat the South as a rebellious child and welcome it back into the Union if it agreed to pledge allegiance to the United States. The people were to be pardoned, and could begin rebuilding their homes, develop their land, and concentrate on making a living. After Lincoln's death, President Andrew Johnson basically had the same plan for the South. However, radical Republicans, led by Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts and Representative Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania, gained control of the Congress, and they had other plans. Their basic premise was the states had left the Union, and would have to gain Congressional approval to be readmitted. The whole radical approach to the South was to punish it for any misdeeds. Laws were passed putting the South into five military districts with the army in control of these areas. Some Southerners were not allowed to vote because they were traitors to the Union. Northerners, carrying carpetbag suitcases, moved into the South and took advantage of the whites and the blacks. Blacks were put into government positions they could not handle because of a lack of education. Corruption was rampant in both the North and the South, but still the radical Congress continued to punish the Southerners and pass legislation over President Johnson's vetoes.

At one time, the radicals became so strong they were intimidating the Supreme Court. It was only a matter of time before a confrontation would take place between the Congress and the President. The confrontation came when Congress passed the Tenure of Office Act in 1867. A provision of the act was the President could not dismiss any appointees without the approval of the Senate. President Johnson proceeded to dismiss Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton without the Senate's approval. Impeachment proceedings were instigated against the President, and he was tried by the Senate. On May 16, 1868, a vote was taken, and by a margin of only one vote he was found not guilty. This was one of the most crucial times in the history of the United States. If Johnson had been impeached, it would not only have set a precedent for disposing of future presidents, but it would have given the radical Congress of the time tremendous powers to run the country without the checks and balances of the other two branches of government.

Slowly, reconstruction came to an end. When 1876 arrived, only Florida, South Carolina, and Louisiana were still under the control of the radicals. The damage had been done, however, and as Goodman and Gatell wrote: "No episode in American history has left a more bitter legacy than the decade which followed the Civil War."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Paul Goodman and Frank O. Gatell, USA: An American Record, I (Hinsdale: The Dryden Press Inc., 1972), p. 247.

Tilden-Hayes Election - 1876

This incident was a political crisis that threatened to renew the Civil War, and put an end to the constitutional government of the United States. It came about when Samuel J. Tilden, the governor of New York, became the Democrat candidate for president in the 1876 election. Mr. Tilden's background was not untarnished as he was reputed to have connections with the corrupt Tammany Hall politicians of New York. But, after the United States had survived Grant's corrupt administration, it paid little attention to Tilden's background. Tilden was matched in the presidential race with the Republican Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio. Hayes had received the nomination of his party by default after James G. Blaine of Maine, the leading contender for the nomination, was found to have been involved in some questionable business practices. Initially, it appeared Tilden had won the election. He had polled 264,292 more popular votes than Hayes, and had 184 electoral votes, just one short of being elected, with three southern states not reported because of disputed returns. Over the next few days, the issue was not settled. Finally, both parties sent delegates to the three states. The result was each party submitted separate returns, and it became obvious ballot stuffing had occurred on both sides. As the weeks went by, the problem continued without a solution. The Constitution said electoral returns were to be sent to the Congress for counting, but it did not

say who was to count them. Whichever party delegated to make the count would be sure to accept its own party's ballots, so a compromise was necessary. Bailey saw this compromise as a much underrated one in the history of the Republic.<sup>1</sup> A commission was set up composed of fifteen men from the Senate and Supreme Court. Each political party had seven members on the commission and the fifteenth was to be an independent. This person was supposed to have been Democrat leaning justice David Davis. However, at the last minute, Davis resigned the bench to go to the Senate, and this left only Republican members of the Court from which to choose. When the commission met, they voted on party lines, eight Republicans and seven Democrats. The Democrats refused to accept the vote. Finally, with only three days left before the inauguration, the compromise was completed. The Democrats went with the Republican Hayes in return for withdrawal of federal troops from the two Southern states they still occupied. They were also promised political offices in the new administration, and improvements on the railroads in the south.

Bailey saw this compromise as a triumph for the American people, rather than a victory for either political party.<sup>2</sup> The American constitutional system was on the brink

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 417.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 528.



of failure, and only the ability of the Congressman to compromise saved the nation.

### World War I - 1914-1918

In Europe during the early 1900s, the major powers had allied themselves with each other to form two groups. On one side was Germany and Austria-Hungary, while on the other was England, France and Russia. The purpose was to have a balance of power against each other economically as well as politically. The relations between the two alliances had been deteriorating for some time, due to economic and territorial disputes, when an event happened that set off World War I. The event was the assassination of the heir to the Austrian throne by Serbian Nationalists. The Austrians demanded concessions from the Serbs they would not meet. The results were the major powers began taking sides. Russia ordered her army to mobilize, and Germany responded by invading Russia's ally, France. By August of 1914, Europe was at war.

The United States declared its neutrality, and proceeded to reap financial rewards from war materials sold to England and France. This windfall couldn't have come at a better time for American business, as it was in the middle of a recession when the war broke out.

Both sides of the European conflict issued propaganda designed to win the favor of the United States. The Germans were disappointed, however, as the sympathy of America

went to the English and French.

As the war continued, shipping became a problem to the Germans. England set up a blockade and kept American ships from trading with Germany. At the same time, England received regular supplies from the Americans. Finally, in February 1915, Germany declared its intentions to sink, without warning, all ships its submarines found in English waters. It then proceeded to carry out this threat. The events that followed precipitated the entry of the United States into the war. Despite German advertisements placed in American newspapers which warned of the dangers of traveling in the war zone, Americans continued to board ships traveling to that area. The inevitable happened on May 7, 1915. The British ship Lusitania, carrying ammunition and passengers, was sunk in the Irish sea. The death toll was 1,198 people, of which 124 were Americans. The president of the United States, Woodrow Wilson, negotiated with the Germans about the incident, and an apology with indemnities was received from the Germans. However, incidents involving submarines continued to happen with Americans either killed or their lives endangered. Wilson pressed the Germans to not fire on passenger liners, and to give warning to all ships they were going to sink. Failure to give the warning would mean the United States would break diplomatic relations with Germany. The Germans went along with Wilson for awhile. Then, on January 31, 1917, they announced they would sink all merchant

ships, including America's, found within the war zone. Wilson had no choice but to break relations with the German government, and a formal declaration of war awaited an overt act by the Germans. The act came in March of 1917, when it was learned German submarines had sunk four American merchant ships and thirty-six lives had been lost. Congress declared war on Good Friday, April 6, 1917.

America entered the war late, but in time to turn the tide to victory for the allies. Over 4,000,000 people saw service for the United States and, of these, there were 320,000 casualties, of which 116,000 died. The cost to the United States' economy was 41,755,000,000 dollars.<sup>1</sup>

At first, American army officers and troops were subjugated to the English and French commanders where they served as back-up forces. Finally, their demands were met, and they were allowed to command their own fighting front. Under General John J. Pershing, the Americans added significantly to the victory.

The armistice came on November 11, 1918, and the war that was supposed to end all wars was over. Implementing a lasting peace was another story. Wilson had proposed fourteen points as the basis for the armistice and the treaty to follow. The allied powers met at Versailles, France, to draw up the treaty. What Germany received from her conquerors was

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<sup>1</sup>Bailey, op. cit., p. 784.

not what had been promised at the armistice. Europe would regret this omission when Hitler came to power at a later date. One of Wilson's main points was the establishment of a League of Nations, a sort of super power made up of all countries, which would preserve and protect the integrity of all nations large and small. It was his stand on this point that helped end his political career. The Republicans in the Senate, led by Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, succeeded in defeating the treaty. Wilson, ill and discredited, tried vainly to get the people to back him. Then he suffered a paralyzing stroke, and was no longer physically able to carry on his work. His dream of the United States assuming a leadership role in the League of Nations was never realized.

The war presented several crises situations to America. First, it was a threat to American economy to have its shipping destroyed, and American people were losing their lives on the open sea to German submarines. If these two situations went unchallenged, it would not only mean America could not protect its own, but it would be subject to the whims of foreigners. Pride was at stake. The United States had never acquiesced to any country. To do so now would have compromised an American principle, and the people would have found it difficult to accept.

### Presidential Election of 1932

When the stock market collapsed on October 29, 1929, America, along with much of the rest of the world, began its worst depression in history. Herbert Hoover had just become President of the United States. President Hoover, a Republican, was conservative in his government outlook and, because of this, he did little to initiate corrective legislation which might have alleviated the economic crisis confronting the country. By 1932, there were eleven million unemployed in America. When the President finally did suggest some economic legislation, he found it blocked by an unfriendly Congress.

America was in trouble. Farmers were burning corn because it was worth less than the cost to ship it to market. Bread lines were forming in the city while foreclosures on property were rampant in the farm belt. Into this problem setting came Franklin D. Roosevelt, a Democrat, who had been a former governor of New York. He ran against President Hoover in the election of 1932, and received 472 electoral votes to 59 for President Hoover.

Upon assuming the Presidency, Roosevelt immediately started his New Deal, and because he had a friendly Congress with which to work, legislation to counter the depression was quickly enacted. He first closed the banks, and reorganized them before they reopened for business. The Gold Standard was abandoned, and an unemployment act was passed.

His program was designed to attack the problem in three ways. They were relief, recovery and reform. People were ready and in need of such a man as Mr. Roosevelt. He had a manner that drew people to him. His "fireside" radio chats with the American people gave them hope and courage to go on living. His programs, while not solving the problem, appeared to help the American people endure the poverty, unemployment and personal degradation of the times. The nation, whose business was business, was about to fall apart because of business failure. Something had to be done, and Mr. Roosevelt apparently did enough to insure people the United States would persevere. Bailey accurately sums up the man and the time with these words, "Great crises often call forth gifted leaders; and the hand of destiny tapped Roosevelt on the shoulder."<sup>1</sup>

#### World War II - 1941-1945

Adolph Hitler came to power in Germany in the early 1930s basically as a result of the poor judgment used by the allies in the Treaty of Versailles. He took a depressed German economy and made it a prosperous one largely through the production of war materials. The time came when this material was put to use, and the destiny he dreamed for himself was fulfilled. It started in 1939 when he annexed part

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 872.

of Poland; then, other small countries fell to him. Finally, on September 1, 1939, he invaded the rest of Poland, and two days later England and France declared war on Germany. The United States tried to stay neutral. However, its preferences were easily determined when it became the main source of supplies for the English.

On June 22, 1941, Hitler attacked Russia. This act, in the end, would prove a fatal mistake because it spread his armed forces, and forced them to fight on several fronts. At first, Hitler enjoyed remarkable success with his war. By 1941, Germany controlled most of the land mass of Europe, and had Britain in serious trouble.

On the other side of the world, Japan had been planning her own expansion. Already in China, she looked for areas that would supply her industries, and serve as a place for migration of her crowded people. The United States was the main deterrent to Japanese territorial expansion because much of the land was either owned by America or was under the protection of its armed forces.

Japan made her fateful decision on December 7, 1941. She conducted a surprise attack on the American naval base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. The United States fleet based there was virtually destroyed. Fortunately, the Japanese did not follow up with an invasion of Hawaii, as military forces there were inadequate to stop them. The United States and Britain declared war on Japan on December 8, 1941. Two days

later, Germany, followed by Italy, declared war on the United States.

The Japanese, like the Germans, were highly successful at first. However, within two years, the American industrial system was beginning to make a difference both in Europe and the Far East. North Africa was wrested from the Germans and Italians, then Italy, and, finally, Europe itself after a historical allied invasion on June 6, 1944. Germany surrendered on May 7, 1945. The Americans turned their attention to the Japanese. The battle in the Far East was short because, on August 6, 1945, an atomic bomb was dropped on the Japanese city of Hiroshima killing or wounding approximately 180,000 people. Three days later, another bomb was dropped on Nagasaki, Japan, killing 80,000 people. Japan could no longer continue the war. On August 10, 1945, she asked for peace, and the document was signed on August 14, 1945, with one Japanese request honored. Emperor Hirohito would be allowed to stay as a nominal ruler.

The greatest war in history was over but, in victory, there were some ominous warnings about the future. Atomic energy was now on the scene. Would it be used for the good of mankind or toward its destruction? The question has not been answered.

At the beginning of the war, the very existence of the United States was in jeopardy. No one was sure that the Japanese would not try to invade the mainland. Could the



industry of the nation produce enough to fight two world powers? Could America achieve without devastating its manpower? Would German technology develop weapons that would insure them victory? It was the most crucial time in the history of the modern world, for democracy itself was challenged.

### Korean War 1950-1953

At the end of World War II, Korea was freed from fifty years of Japanese rule. Russia occupied the area north of the thirty-eighth parallel, while the United States occupied the southern half of the country. Russia refused to allow elections, so the United States set up a democratic government in the South, while the Russians set up a Communist government in the North. On June 25, 1950, the North Koreans invaded the South. The United Nations responded by sending armed forces to the area. For the most part, these armed forces were Americans. At first, the North Koreans were winning, but General Douglas MacArthur launched an amphibious attack that came close to capturing the complete North Korean army. The North Koreans retreated, and the MacArthur troops pursued them to a point close to the Chinese border. It was thought the war was about over. However, unexpectedly, the Chinese entered the war, and drove the United Nations' troops back South. MacArthur wanted total war, but President Truman would not let him pursue this course. Herein lies the crisis of this event. A general of the army was

trying to circumvent his commander-in-chief's orders. MacArthur did his best to influence the Congress to give him his way. He issued statements that comprised the President's position on the war at a time when the President was trying to negotiate peace. This was a dangerous precedent, and a threat to the constitutional powers of the Presidency. The President, Harry S. Truman, had no choice but to bring the situation to a climax which he did by firing General MacArthur as commander of the Far Eastern forces. Once again the Constitution was saved.

#### Rocket Crisis (Sputnik) 1957-1958

On October 4, 1957, the Russians orbited the first space satellite, and the shock waves reverberated throughout the free world. Bailey called the event "a psychological Pearl Harbor".<sup>1</sup> The implications of this feat were clear to the Western World. They were behind the Communists in scientific research. It did not take much imagination to figure out what could be done with rockets. It frightened America, and resulted in a research program that eventually enabled the United States to be the first to land men on the moon.

#### Cuban Missile Crisis - 1962

The Bay of Pigs fiasco, in which dissident Cubans

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 992.

had attempted to invade Cuba, was an embarrassment to the John F. Kennedy administration. It had backed the invasion, and Kennedy himself took the blame for its failure. As a result of the failure of the invasion attempt, Fidel Castro, the leader of Cuba, became more politically aggressive towards the United States. He either asked for or was given Soviet missiles. In October of 1962, Washington began to see details of missile sites in aerial photographs of Cuba. It soon learned Russian technicians were building forty-two of these sites. It was here the crisis began. President Kennedy ordered a naval and aerial blockade of Cuba and, at the same time, laid plans to invade her. This order for a blockade was made on October 22, 1962. The United States was prepared to go to war if Russia tried to run the blockade. Russian ships came, but they stayed outside of the forbidden area. Finally, on October 28, 1962, Krushchev, the leader of Russia, relented and agreed to remove the missiles. He was able to save some face by saying the Americans had agreed not to invade Cuba in exchange for Russia removing the missiles. The victory was clearly Kennedy's and the United States, but never has the world been closer to annihilation than it was during those six days.

#### Viet Nam War - 1965-1973

In the early part of this century, the countries of Cambodia, Laos, and Viet Nam were all part of a Southeast

Asia country called French Indo-China. The Japanese occupied it during World War II. After the war, a communist guerrilla leader, Ho Chi Minh, proclaimed the area independent. The French would not agree to this, and waged a fruitless war against Minh. After a staggering defeat at Dien Bien Phu, the French withdrew from the area. Under a Geneva agreement, the country was split into two parts. The Communists ruled the North, and an emperor ruled the South. Northern guerrillas immediately began to infiltrate the South, and caused trouble for the government. Leadership in the South was incompetent and changeable, but still the United States continued to support it against the Communists in the North. President Dwight Eisenhower sent in technicians to train the South Vietnamese, but this did not solve the problem as the Northern Communists began to operate openly in the South. President John F. Kennedy sent additional forces into the South to assist the military forces by flying helicopters and directing defenses of certain areas. By the end of 1963, the United States had 15,000 men in the country. The South was still losing ground and prestige, so President Lyndon Johnson ordered air attacks on the North, and sent in ground troops. By the year 1969, there were approximately 540,000 men in the area.

The war was a hopeless situation. Congress would not let the military go all out for total victory, and the forces already involved were bogged down with conventional weapons

and methods against an unconventional enemy. The war became increasingly unpopular in America, but there seemed no way it could withdraw its forces without damage to its prestige. Finally, under President Richard Nixon, a cease fire was negotiated on January 27, 1973, and the Americans came home. Laos and Cambodia were supposed to be independent, and the North Vietnamese followed its own desires in the rest of Viet Nam.

The investigator included this war as a crisis because of two factors. First, the war made America look at its foreign policy regarding its role as the policeman of the world. It decided it could not solve all the problems in the world with its military. Second, it presented a question for which, as yet, there is no answer. Was it morally and politically right for an individual to say, "I do not agree with what the government is doing and, therefore, I will not abide by that law"?

#### Nixon Resignation - 1974

Richard M. Nixon, on August 9, 1974, resigned as President of the United States. He took this action rather than face the possibility of impeachment by the United States Senate. Mr. Nixon's problems began on June 17, 1972, when five men were arrested for breaking into the Democratic National Headquarters in Washington, D.C. The headquarters were located in a complex of buildings called Watergate, and

it is from this complex the resultong political scandal takes its name. These five men were paid by the Committee for Re-Election of the President, and were there to gather evidence against the Democratic party. Eventually, seven men went to trial and were found guilty on January 30, 1973, of conspiracy, burglary and eavesdropping. It could have ended there, but the Congress selected a special committee to do more investigating. The committee was chaired by Senator Sam Ervin, of North Carolina. Before long, evidence of perjury and purchased silence was uncovered. The press added to the evidence by exposing the existence of a special White House plumbers' group whose major purpose was to stop leaks of secret information to the press.

As time went on, the intrigue became deeper. In April, Patrick Gray, acting director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, resigned after admitting he had destroyed evidence about Watergate. Before long, most of the men around the President had been implicated with the Watergate scandal. The result was a trail of ruined and blighted careers.<sup>1</sup> One scandal led to another as questions were raised about Vice-president Spiro Agnew's financial background when he was Governor of Maryland. This resulted in his resignation and the appointment of Representative Gerald R. Ford of Michigan to take his place. The scandals grew

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<sup>1</sup>Bedford and Colbourn, op. cit., p. 566.

until they engulfed the President himself. His downfall started when the Ervin Committee learned he tape-recorded most White House conversations. The Committee subpoenaed some of the tapes to use in pending trials of the Watergate conspirators. Mr. Nixon refused to give the tapes to the committee. Much controversy then ensued until, finally, some tapes were released. The tapes contained erasures, and did not cover areas the committee wanted. After more pressure, Mr. Nixon released edited transcripts of more tapes. This did not satisfy the committee and, finally, the Supreme Court ordered Mr. Nixon to release sixty-four tapes for use in pending trials of Watergate conspirators. Once the tapes were released, President Nixon was through. The tapes showed him to be a crude, profane, perhaps immoral man, who had told half-truths, and conspired to thwart the Watergate investigation. His choice was to be impeached by the Senate or resign. He chose the latter.

It was a time of crisis for Constitutional government. Would the system be able to correct itself? Could a President resign without disrupting the government? Would the people lose all confidence in the presidency? These were some of the questions that needed answering. Fortunately, the transition to a new President was without incident. Vice-president Gerald R. Ford became the Chief Executive and, over the next two years, was able to create in the American people a renewed respect for the Presidency.

MAJOR SOCIAL CRISES IN THE UNITED STATES  
FROM 1776 TO 1976

Major social crises in United States history encompass a wide spectrum. As changes in the United States occurred, the changes were reflected in the social problems that developed. When America was basically agrarian, the major social problems developed around the land question. As industrialization came to the United States, it brought social problems in the form of labor conflicts and human relations. With the development of a more technical America, social problems consisted of personal and political issues. To understand the development of social problems in the United States from 1776 to 1976, the following chronology is offered.

Land Dispersion - 1785

As the Revolutionary War came to an end in 1781, the United States had a land problem. The government had become involved with land during the War when the Continental Congress offered a bounty of land to soldiers in exchange for their services. The problem was the Congress had no land to give, so it attempted to acquire some by two methods. Either the states were to cede territory they owned in the West, or provide money for land purchases. Using these methods, the federal government acquired 494,955 square miles of land before 1800. After this time, the Louisiana



Purchase of 1803, the acquisition of Florida, the Mexican War, the Gadsden Purchase, and the purchasing of Alaska in 1867 added considerable land to the federal domain. In fact, after the purchase of Alaska from Russia, the land owned by the federal government consisted of 2,894,235.91 square miles.<sup>1</sup>

Dispersion of this public domain became a problem after the Revolutionary War, and remained an unsettled issue in the United States until the 1890s.

Although dispersion of the land was a problem, there was another facet of the land question that indicated a relationship with a major social problem. The social problem was the concern for democratic rights of the people. This concern was so great that these rights were spelled out in laws that were to govern new territories. An example of this was observed in the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 which set some rules of a social nature for settlement of the Northwest Territory. These social rules were:

1. Religious freedom had to be guaranteed.
2. Provision had to be made for trial by jury and the benefits of the writ of habeas corpus.
3. Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of

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<sup>1</sup>Henry W. Farnum, Chapters in the History of Social Legislation in the United States to 1860 (Washington: Carnegie Institution, 1938), pp. 127-128.

mankind, schools and the means of education had to forever be encouraged.

4. There was to be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory . . . .<sup>1</sup>

As the United States settled new territories, the founding fathers seemed determined to perpetuate the democratic principles they had just fought a war to achieve.

#### Failure of The Articles of Confederation - 1787

The people of America had been living under the Articles of Confederation since the beginning of the Revolutionary War and, by the middle of the 1780s, it became apparent the Articles could not keep the new nation together. In fact, the states were on the verge of becoming separate countries. Money issued by Congress had become virtually useless by 1781, and the states were printing their own. Foreclosures on land became a problem in some states where taxes had become exorbitant, and had resulted in at least one rebellion. The Articles contained little power to correct these problems.

Despite all of these issues, there was still a feeling of nationalism in America. The people wanted unity, the newspapers promoted it, and finally, in 1787, the founding

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<sup>1</sup>Shosuke Sato, History of the Land Question in the United States, VII, VIII, IX, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1886), pp. 97-98.

fathers met in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and developed the Constitution.

Socially, examination of the Constitution finds little stated directly about social policies to be pursued by the federal government. However, as Farnam said:

Although the Constitution does not contain many paragraphs which would be classed as Social legislation at the present day, it is nevertheless the most important piece of social legislation enacted in the United States during the eighteenth century, because it made later legislation possible.<sup>1</sup>

The Constitution came at a crucial time in United States history, and solved the most prominent social crises of that period.

#### Protection of Seamen - 1790

The United States, in 1790, was heavily dependent on imports. Since most of the colonies bordered the Atlantic Ocean, it was natural the sea, and what transpired upon it, was of concern to the citizenry. Sea life was hard and, because of problems the seamen were confronted with on the ships and in port, something needed to be done to protect their rights.

While the captain aboard the ship did have to be an autocrat for the safety of the ship and cargo, he frequently carried his power too far. In many cases, the seamen were

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<sup>1</sup>Farnam, op. cit., pp. 125-126.

treated like animals rather than men. Even on shore, the seaman, who, after returning from a long sea voyage, was often taken advantage of by merchants, innkeepers and other unscrupulous people.

The need for remedial measures was so obvious that one of the first laws passed by Congress was an act for the government and regulation of seamen in the merchant service. Among other things, it provided that a captain had to sign an agreement with the seaman before he went to sea. The agreement had to contain the conditions under which the seaman would work on board the ship. It also had regulations concerning sea-worthiness of the ship, food carried, medicinal supplies and wages to be paid. This act was an attempt to improve the social lot of the seamen, and it led the way to other improvements in the merchant service during the next century.

#### Guarantee of Citizen Rights - 1791

When the Constitution was submitted to the states for ratification in 1787, it did not contain a bill of rights nor passages that could be considered concerned with the rights of the citizenry. Ogg and Ray had this to say about the situation:

To be sure, the framers did not fail to consider the subject. But since eight of the existing state constitutions contained bills of rights or their equivalent, and since in addition, the federal government was to have only delegated powers--none of which, it was believed, would carry authority over matters

which a federal bill of rights could reach-- inclusion of provisions on the subject was decided to be superfluous<sup>1</sup>

The people thought differently, however, and those against the Constitution used this omission as one of their leading arguments against ratification. Ratification did occur, however, and once Congress met, it immediately turned its attention to passing a bill of rights. Ogg and Ray described what happened this way:

In Virginia, Madison was chosen to the first Congress under pledge to use his influence to bring about the adoption of a federal bill of rights; and in June, 1789, he introduced a long series of proposals looking to that end. Of seventeen amendments voted by the House, twelve were endorsed by the Senate, and ten were ratified by the states. Eight of the number embodied most of the desired express guarantee of personal and property rights; the Ninth provided that the enumeration of certain rights in the constitution should not be construed "to deny or disparage others retained by the people"; and the Tenth was intended to clear up lingering doubts as to precisely what powers were reserved to the states or to the people.<sup>2</sup>

#### Importation of Slaves - 1807

Slavery had been a social problem in the United States before it became a sovereign nation. The Constitution had permitted the immigration of slaves up to the year 1808. As that year approached, the Congress, spurred on by Jefferson, began introducing bills into both houses of Congress.

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<sup>1</sup>Frederic A. Ogg and P. Orman Ray, Introduction to American Government (9th ed.; New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1948), p. 45.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 45-46.

The resulting legislation was the Act to Prohibit the Importation of Slaves. It was a victory for those against slavery, and solved part of a major social problem, at least for a time.

#### Settlers Rights - 1841

When the territories in the West opened to settlement, a conflict developed between the government and the settlers. The conflict was over unsurveyed land in the West. The settlers were squatters with no legal rights. However, they had cleared, cultivated and improved the land, and felt it was theirs. Congress had attempted to solve this social problem through legislation. Starting in 1801, and continuing until 1841, eighteen different acts were passed concerning the problem. Finally, the Pre-Emption Act of 1841 brought a permanent solution to the issue. The act allowed settlers to settle on a quarter section of unsurveyed land with the right to purchase the land at the minimum price when the land was placed on sale.

Sato saw this act as a landmark for land legislation in the United States. He also felt it was the first law that met the social needs of the settlers.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Sato, op. cit., pp. 159-167.

Land and Technical Needs of America - 1862

By 1862, the land dispersion question had not been completely solved. There was also a need for more technical knowledge in agriculture to increase food production. These two problems were actually tied together. If the people could get land and the technical knowledge to increase production, it could solve both problems. The results of this social crisis were the enactment of two laws by Congress. They were the Homestead Act and the Morrill Act.

Commager said the Homestead Act brought an end to one period of American land policy, and started a new policy which, with some modifications, the United States has been following since 1862.<sup>1</sup> After almost a century, the land question was basically solved by this act and, for the first time, the settler was allowed to claim land virtually free of charge if he fulfilled certain obligations, such as living on and working the land for five years.<sup>2</sup> This law was important social legislation. It allowed America to develop its frontier and the resourcefulness, competitive spirit and determination of the homesteader formed the basic social philosophy in America.

The Morrill Act was an outgrowth of a demand for more

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<sup>1</sup>Commager, op. cit., p. 410

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

technically trained people, particularly in the field of agriculture. This was an attempt to meet the educational and social needs of the settlers in the West, and also an attempt by the federal government to increase badly needed food production.

### A Legal End to Slavery - 1865

Slavery had been a social issue since the beginning of the Republic. In 1865, slavery was still a basic social issue in America. The North felt the need to bring some finality to slavery by declaring it illegal. This was accomplished through the Congress when it passed the Thirteenth Amendment.

This amendment contains the only explicit mention of slavery in the Constitution. The wording is as follows: "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction."<sup>1</sup>

The ratification of the amendment came eight months after the Civil War. Slavery legally ended and the social problems around it became concerned with assimilating the black into the American culture.

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<sup>1</sup>U.S. Constitution Amendment XIII, Section 1.



### Ensuring Former Slaves Citizen Rights - 1868

After the Civil War ended in 1865, slaves still had a difficult time gaining citizen rights. Part of the problem was the Constitution did not adequately define a citizen. Congress attempted to solve the issue by passing the Fourteenth Amendment in 1868.

This amendment insured slaves their rights as citizens and also curbed abuses by certain states attempting to abridge the rights of the black. The Amendment not only defined citizenship for the first time, but set the precedent that United States citizenship was primary over state citizenship.

### Acceptance of Former Slaves by the Populace - 1875

After the Civil War, there was concern among the people of the North whether whites, particularly southern whites, would accept former slaves as equals in public conveyances, inns and public amusement places. Congress attempted to solve the problem by passing a Civil Rights Act in 1875.

This act was the last in a list of civil rights legislation enacted by Congress soon after the Civil War. All were passed in an attempt to bring equal rights to the black who had suffered so long under slavery. It provided for "equal enjoyment of the accommodations, advantages, facilities, and privileges of inns, public conveyances on land or

water, theaters, and other places of public amusement."<sup>1</sup> The act was an indication that social problems, created by freeing the slaves, were still not settled.

#### Competition of Foreign Laborers - 1882

One of America's most serious economic problems of the 1880s was unemployment. This was of particular concern in California where it caused a new social problem. According to Bailey, by 1880, there were seventy-five thousand Chinese in California, and they represented approximately nine percent of the state's population.<sup>2</sup> To the Irish immigrants, led by Denis Kearney, the Chinese were a threat to their jobs because they would work for low wages. As a result, the Chinese were persecuted and even murdered. Congress attempted to solve the problem by passing the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, which stated, among other things, "the coming of Chinese laborers to this country endangers the good order of certain localities within the territory thereof."<sup>3</sup> The act made it unlawful for Chinese laborers to enter the country for ten years.

#### Treatment of the Indian - 1887

As America moved westward, the settlers pushed the

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<sup>1</sup>Commager, op. cit., p. 86.

<sup>2</sup>Bailey, op. cit., p. 531.

<sup>3</sup>Commager, op. cit., p. 110.

Indian out of his homeland. This created the problem of what to do with these displaced people. The Indian did not want to be assimilated into the white man's culture, nor did the whites want them. The solution was for Congress to pass the Dawes Act in 1887. The act set up reservations where the Indian could live, own land and receive the protection of the laws of the United States. Some looked upon this act as atonement for all the problems whites had caused the Indian. Eventually, it would only serve to strip them of their racial and cultural pride.

#### Working Conditions - 1916

The development of America into an industrial nation brought concern about working conditions. Most factory workers were working ten or more hours per day under conditions often unsanitary, dangerous and demeaning.

The problem climaxed in March of 1916 when the Four Brotherhoods of Railway Workers demanded an eight-hour day without a reduction of wages. They threatened a strike which would have tied up transportation in the country. As a result, President Wilson asked Congress to pass a law the workers wanted. Congress then passed this act which went into effect January 1, 1917.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 303.

### Women Suffrage - 1920

The feminist movement for equality began as early as 1840. A Quaker lady, by the name of Mrs. Lucretia Mott, expressed concern because she and other women delegates were not recognized at the London Anti-Slave Convention. Other early feminists were Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Lucy Stone and Mrs. Amelia Bloomer. These women held a Women's Rights Convention at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848. At this convention, they demanded voting rights for women. Their demands were not quickly met, however, because, during much of the nineteenth century, the Women's Rights movement was subjugated to the issue of slavery. For the sake of national unity after World War I, women finally received the right to vote through ratification of the nineteenth amendment in 1920.

### Establishing Ethnic Background of America - 1924

The period following World War I was a time of isolationism in the United States. The American people were against foreigners and foreign goods competing with American labor and products. As a reaction to this feeling, the Congress tried to regulate the flow of immigrants by enacting the Emergency Quota Act of 1921. This was only a stop-gap measure. What followed is best described by Bailey:

This stopgap legislation of 1921 was replaced after more mature reflection, by the Immigration Act of 1924. Quotas for foreigners were cut from 3% to 2%. The national-origins base was shifted from the

census of 1910 to that of 1890, when comparatively few South Europeans had arrived. Great Britain and Northern Ireland, for example, could send 65,721 a year as against 5,802 for Italy. South Europeans bitterly condemned the device as unfair and discriminatory--a triumph for the "nativist" belief that blue-eyed and fair-haired North Europeans were of better blood. The purpose was clearly to freeze America's existing racial composition, which was largely North European.

. . . . .

Quotas thus caused America to sacrifice something of her tradition of freedom and opportunity, as well as much of her color and variety. But the nation gained in racial uniformity.<sup>1</sup>

The 1924 act significantly decreased the number of immigrants entering the United States. From July 1, 1920 to June 30, 1921, 800,000 people came to the shores of the United States looking for a new life. The number allowed each year after this act was limited to 162,846, of which 140,999 had to be from Northern and Western Europe.<sup>2</sup> This law was a deciding factor in determining ethnic background of the people in the United States after 1924.

### Crises of the Farmers - 1933

The economic crisis of 1933 created a serious financial problem for the American farmer. Prices of farm products were so low it cost the farmer more to raise animals and crops than they were worth on the market. Because of this situation, many farmers were confronted with bankruptcy.

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<sup>1</sup>Bailey, op. cit., p. 819.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 820.

Congress attempted to help the farmer by passing the Agricultural Adjustment Act in 1933. This was the first of a series of laws passed by the federal government in the 1930s designed to alleviate the farm problem. All of these laws were designed to raise prices for the farmer's products by creating artificial scarcities through parity price, by paying growers not to plant certain acres, and by destroying certain amounts of crops grown and animals raised. The acts had limited success.

#### Unemployment and Retirement - 1935

The depression of the 1930s emphasized the need for a plan for the unemployed, as well as a method of caring for those who could no longer work. Few businesses had pension plans, and most people, beyond the age of sixty-five, had to take care of themselves through their savings or depend on their relatives. Neither of these methods was satisfactory. The depression years were difficult for people who depended on savings for their livelihood. In many cases, banks closed and their savings were lost. People, who turned to their relatives for help, found them frequently without employment and unable to care for their own immediate families. Congress tried to do something about this situation by passing the Social Security Act in 1935.

This act was significant because it represents the government assuming responsibility for the general welfare

of the people.<sup>1</sup> Under the law, there were provisions for unemployment insurance, and annuities for the aged and dependent. These benefits provided protection for the populace against economic catastrophe and allowed the aged to retire without becoming a financial burden to their families.<sup>2</sup> The Social Security Act was a reaction to the severe depression that gripped the United States in the 1930s. It brought relief, not only to those suffering economic disaster, but also gave hope for future retirement of the workers.

#### Full Employment - 1946

After World War II, the United States was confronted with two economic problems that were also social problems. These problems were: how to change from wartime to peacetime economy without causing unemployment, and how to assimilate all returning servicemen into the working force without causing an economic and social upheaval? Congress tried to solve these problems through enactment of the Employment Act of 1946.

Commager saw this act as a new approach to make the federal government responsible for full employment.<sup>3</sup> A

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<sup>1</sup>Commager, op. cit., p. 505.

<sup>2</sup>Bedford and Colbourn, op. cit., p. 449.

<sup>3</sup>Commager, op. cit., p. 694.

Council of Economic Advisors was set up to study and alleviate negative effects of business cycles. This Council would develop ways to control unemployment and its debilitary effect on the economy. The law gave the federal government the tools and power for partial control over the economic climate in the United States. The purpose of this control was to prevent disastrous economic crises and their resulting social problems.

#### Minority Rights - 1957

One of the main social problems of the 1950s was civil rights. Even though much legislation was passed after the Civil War, the problem was never really solved. Congress, once again, turned to legislation, and passed the Civil Rights Act of 1957. Commager had this discussion on the legislation.

Both Truman and Eisenhower had requested legislation to provide federal enforcement of those guarantees of civil rights written into the Constitution and expounded by the Supreme Court. This hot-contested act-the first of its kind since Reconstruction-went part way toward meeting these Presidential requests. It created a Federal Civil Rights Commission, established a Civil Rights division in the office of the Attorney-General, empowered federal prosecutors to obtain injunctions against those who denied any citizen his rights under the Constitution, and permitted trial of offenders in contempt of these injunctions without jury in civil cases, but with jury in criminal cases.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 828.



### Equality of Education - 1964

The 1960s saw sit-ins, freedom rides, militancy of black power groups, court orders for school admittance and a general disruption of the social system. As a result, Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1964. This bill was supported by President Kennedy and, after his death, by President Johnson. Its main thrust was to eliminate discrimination in public accommodations, such as hotels and restaurants.

### Hospital Care for Elderly - 1965

The number of elderly people in the United States increased by the mid-1960s to the point where hospital and medical care for these people were a major social problem. How would costs of medical care be met? How would facilities be built, and, most of all, how would the people preserve their dignity when confronted with old age and illness? The government's answer to this social problem was to pass the Medicare Act in 1965.

The act was an extension of the Social Security Act of 1935, and provided for medical and hospital insurance for those people eligible for social security. Bailey reported that eventually seventeen million people signed up for the program.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Bailey, op. cit., p. 1024.

Highway Safety - 1966

By 1960, automobiles represented approximately ten percent of all consumer expenditures in the United States. This was compared to six and one-half percent twelve years earlier.<sup>1</sup> As automobiles became bigger, more powerful and faster, the death rate from accidents rose alarmingly.

Ralph Nader, a lawyer, publicly blamed car manufacturers for creating death traps by building cars which were unsafe on the highways. Other groups complained about the construction of unsafe highways. As a result of all the fervor, Congress passed two laws that set standards for automobiles, and required states to adopt traffic safety programs. The laws helped some, but it is a problem that has not had a satisfactory solution.

Drug Abuse - 1972

By the 1970s, drugs became a way of life for a segment of the American population. The Viet Nam War added to the problem by exposing servicemen to the use of drugs while they were serving abroad. A drug cult appeared in America, and openly advocated the use of drugs. The problem reached such magnitude that, by 1972, Congress passed the Drug Abuse Office and Treatment Act providing an Office of Planning and Prevention, a National Advisory Council for

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<sup>1</sup>Goodman and Gatell, op. cit., p. 575.

Drug Abuse Prevention and Community Programs for Rehabilitation.

Indian Rights and Refugee Assimilation - 1975

Like other minorities in America, the Indian began to demand more rights in the 1960s and 1970s. They organized a group called the American Indian Movement (AIM), and made headlines by several militant acts. They took over the Island of Alcatraz in San Francisco Bay, and held it for several weeks. A sit-in was held at the Bureau of Indian Affairs building in Washington, D.C. and, on February 27, 1973, they took over Wounded Knee, a part of the Pine Bluff, South Dakota Indian Reservation. They chose Wounded Knee for their militant action because it is a historical site of an Indian-White battle. The Indians demanded the Federal government investigate their plight, and take remedial measures to solve some of their problems. Politically, Indians have had little power because of their small population, which totaled only 791,000 in 1970.<sup>1</sup> As a partial answer to their problems, Congress enacted the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act in 1975. It gave the Indians more participation in the establishment and conduct of their education programs and services.

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<sup>1</sup>James I. Clark and Robert V. Remini, We the People: A History of the United States, II (Beverly Hills: Glencoe Press, 1975), p. 577.

Another social problem of 1975 was how would America assimilate thousands of Indochinese people into the American culture? The problem began when America withdrew from the war in Viet Nam. Many Cambodians and Vietnamese felt their lives would be endangered if they remained in their homeland when the Communists took over. Special dispensations were made in American immigration laws to allow thousands of these people to settle in the United States. The change in culture created language, social and economic problems for these new Americans. To facilitate their assimilation, Congress enacted the Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1975. The law provided funds for education and training to ease their transition to American life.

#### DISCUSSION OF TABLES I THROUGH IV

The education legislation and economic, political and social crises from the preceding pages were listed in four separate tables. The following is a discussion and an analysis of each table.

Table I reveals there were twenty-seven dates when major education legislation was enacted by Congress from 1776 to 1976. These twenty-seven dates encompassed forty-two different education acts. The first four of these education acts reflected the agrarian nature of the new United States as they dealt with land and its dispersion. Two of these

TABLE I

MAJOR FEDERAL EDUCATION LEGISLATION IN  
THE UNITED STATES FROM 1776 TO 1976

Date	Federal Education Legislation
1785	- Northwest Ordinance of 1785
1787	- Northwest Ordinance of 1787
1802-3	- Ohio Enabling Acts
1862	- Morrill Land Grant Act
1917	- Smith Hughest Act
1918	- Vocational Rehabilitation Act
1919	- Surplus Property Act
1920	- Smith-Bankhead Act
1941	- Lanham Act
1944	- Service Man's Readjustment Act Surplus Property Act
1946	- National School Lunch Act
1948	- Smith-Mundt Act
1950	- Impacted Area Aid
1956	- Library Services Act
1958	- National Defense Education Act - Education of Mentally Retarded Children Act
1961	- Exceptional Children (Deaf) Act
1962	- Manpower Development and Training Act - Educational Television Act
1963	- Health Professions Educational Assistance Act - Higher Education Facilities Act - Vocational Education Act
1964	- Civil Rights (Title IV) Act - Economic Opportunity Act - Impact School Aid Act

TABLE I (CONTINUED)

Date	Federal Education Legislation
1965	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Elementary and Secondary Education Act</li> <li>- Higher Education Act</li> <li>- National Technical Institute for the Deaf Act</li> </ul>
1966	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- International Educational Act</li> <li>- Elementary and Secondary Education Amendments of 1966</li> </ul>
1967	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Elementary and Secondary Education Amendments of 1967</li> </ul>
1968	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Handicapped Children's Early Education Assistance Act</li> <li>- Higher Education Amendments of 1968</li> </ul>
1970	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Elementary and Secondary Education Assistance Programs</li> <li>- School Lunch Amendments</li> <li>- Environmental Quality Education Act of 1970</li> </ul>
1972	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Educational Amendments of 1972</li> </ul>
1974	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Educational Amendments of 1974</li> </ul>
1975	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act</li> <li>- Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act</li> </ul>

acts, the Northwest Ordinances, set precedents in education. The Ordinance of 1785 stipulated that section sixteen in each township be reserved for schools. In effect, this automatically provided a method of developing an education system. The Ordinance of 1787 stated that "education was to be forever encouraged," which set a ground rule for

future education legislation. The Enabling Acts of 1802 and 1803 reinforced the Ordinances. There was little federal activity in support of schools for the sixty-year period from 1803 to 1862.

In 1862, the Morrill Act was passed, and this represented a change in the needs of the United States. The country needed an improved agricultural system, and its citizens needed improved mechanical skills to meet a growing industrial society. The Morrill Act helped meet these needs. After the Morrill Act of 1862, there was no major federal education legislation enacted for fifty-five years.

From 1917 to 1920, Congress was confronted with three problems concerning its constituents. The problems were, the illiteracy discovered when men were tested for military service, the return of men from military service with no prospects for employment, and the surplus of war supplies which the government had accumulated. All three of these problems had education legislation enacted to solve them.

After the Smith-Bankhead Act of 1920, there was no federal education legislation for twenty years. The next major education legislation took place in 1941 when the Lanham Act was passed. Actually, the government repeated in the 1940s what it found fairly successful in 1919 and 1920. It turned to education to assimilate the returning servicemen to civilian life, and it turned to the schools to

dispose of unused war materials.

The National Defense Education Act of 1958 was a precedent for most federal education legislation passed in the 1960s and 1970s. As a result of this law, the federal government became directly involved with the education process. It was influential in the training of staff, in determining subjects taught, and, in some cases, in determining who would be taught.

The federal education legislation enacted in the 1960s and early 1970s attempted to solve social ills, such as civil rights, handicapped children, sexism, ethnic problems and environmental ecology.

Data from the table reveals the federal government's involvement with education increased in the twenty-year period from 1956 to 1976. Twenty-eight of the forty-two education acts listed were passed in this time period, and approximately one-third of all major federal education legislation in the two hundred year history of the United States occurred in the ten-year period from 1966 to 1976.

The data collected in Table II reveals eighteen major economic crises in the United States from 1776 to 1976. Throughout much of its history, the United States has been subjected to periodic economic crises. In fact, up until 1937, the longest period the United States had gone without a major economic crisis was between the crises of 1857-1859 and 1873-1879, a span of fourteen years. Fifteen times in



TABLE II  
MAJOR ECONOMIC CRISES IN THE UNITED STATES  
FROM 1776 TO 1976

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Dates of Economic Crisis
1785 - 1790
1796 - 1799
1807 - 1810
1815 - 1816
1819 - 1822
1825 - 1826
1837 - 1843
1847 - 1848
1857 - 1859
1873 - 1879
1884 - 1887
1890 - 1892
1893 - 1898
1907 - 1909
1914 - 1915
1920 - 1922
1929 - 1936
1937 - 1940

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United States history, the period between crises was nine years or less. From the beginning of the Republic in 1776 to the end of the last major economic crisis in 1941, the United States spent fifty-six years in serious economic trouble. This was more than one-third of its history.

No specific pattern was discernible as to when economic crises occur. However, throughout the history of the United States, periods of prosperity were rarely eight or more years in length.

Most of the economic problems of the past had been due to lack of controls on financial matters by the federal government. Speculation, particularly in railroads and land, was an early nemesis of the economy. Another problem was the concentration of wealth in a few institutions, and when these institutions failed, the whole economy collapsed with them. The government's foreign policies also precipitated trade problems that caused unemployment, low prices and a depressed economy.

The economic crisis of 1929 was a good example of a need for controls in the economy. What happened was called the Great Depression, and it occurred because of overspeculation in the stock market. People were allowed to buy stock with very little money down, and this led to paper empires which eventually led to the collapse of the stock market.

The United States did not have a major economic crisis from 1941 and 1976. This was the longest period in

its history without a major economic problem. There were a number of reasons for this situation. First, much of that time the United States was at war. Second, the time during this period when the United States was not at war, it was either giving away goods or trading extensively with the rest of the world. This in itself helped maintain prosperity. Third, during this period, the United States had a heavy defense budget which kept employment high and prosperity in the country. Fourth, technical knowledge expanded the economy creating more jobs, and increasing the demand for goods among all people in the world. Often these goods were manufactured in the United State. Fifth, since 1941, the United States government has legislated safeguard in the economy, and has been able to control the stock market, interest rates and the economy in general.

Table III lists eighteen major political crises that occurred in the United States from 1776 to 1976. Eight were directly involved with war; two, Sputnik and the Cuban Missile Crises, were indirectly involved with war; two were involved with land and slavery; five were of a political nature; and one, the Alien and Sedition Acts, was involved with constitutional freedoms.

Regardless of how these crises are labeled, they were all tests for the American people. The tests were not only of the system of government they had chosen, but of their ability to persevere, compromise, assume certain

TABLE III

MAJOR POLITICAL CRISES IN THE UNITED STATES  
FROM 1776 TO 1976

Date(s)	Political Crisis
1776-1781	- Revolutionary War
1787-1789	- Ratifying the Constitution
1798	- Alien and Sedition Acts
1812-1815	- War of 1812
1820	- Missouri Compromise
1846-1848	- Mexican War
1850	- Compromise of 1850
1861-1865	- Civil War
1867-1871	- Reconstruction and the Impeachment of Andrew Johnson
1876	- Tilden-Hayes Election
1914-1918	- World War I
1932	- Presidential Election
1941-1945	- World War II
1950-1953	- Korean War
1957-1958	- Rocket Crises (Sputnik)
1962	- Cuban Missile Crises
1965-1973	- Vietnam War
1974	- Nixon Resignation

roles, and survive physical attacks. The first test was their ability to stand up for what they believed in, and this resulted in the Revolutionary War. Following the war, their ability to compromise was severely challenged when the Constitution was written and ratified. The next test was their ability to live by the principles professed in the Constitution. Their examination on this point came through the Alien and Sedition Acts. The War of 1812 determined whether the United States would be accepted as a power by England and other European nations. The Compromises of 1820 and 1850 were an attempt to settle serious problems in land development and slavery, without resorting to revolution and war. Between the times when the Compromises occurred, the Mexican War was a test of American military might, and a challenge for the leadership role in the Western Hemisphere.

The most crucial test in American history was the Civil War. It challenged the structure of the government, its economic philosophy and the principles of the Constitution. Following the Civil War, America was confronted with two important political tests. Would the checks and balance system of the Constitution endure, and would the government survive a crisis in the elective process? The first test was the impeachment of President Andrew Johnson, and the second test was the Tilden-Hayes election.

World War I brought a political test of America's

ability to fight a major war. The war was followed by the challenge to constitutional government in the 1930s. Would it survive an extreme economic crisis? The 1940s brought a severe test of America's political ability to fight a major war on foreign lands and seas.

The Korean War was a challenge to political ideology as well as a test of the United States' commitment to protect the sovereignty of foreign countries. American technology, world leadership and military power were all challenged by Sputnik, the Cuban Missile Crisis and the Viet Nam War. The Viet Nam War added another test which was a confrontation between the wants of the American people and the political policies of those in government positions. One of the most enlightening political tests of the American governmental system was President Nixon's resignation as a result of the Watergate Scandal. The transition of power to a new President was without incident. There were no revolutions, no riots, and no upheaval in the political structure of the United States.

Table III reflects the problems America had in establishing itself as a sovereign nation, its growth to a world power, and its political maturation as a democratic nation.

Table IV lists twenty-five dates in American history, from 1776 to 1976, when a social crisis existed. An analysis of this table reveals a concern for human rights in America

TABLE IV

MAJOR SOCIAL CRISES IN THE UNITED STATES  
FROM 1776 TO 1976

Date	Major Social Crises
1785	- Land Dispersion
1787	- Failure of the Articles of Confederation
1790	- Protection of Seamen
1791	- Guarantee of Citizen Rights
1807	- Importation of Slaves
1841	- Settlers' Rights
1862	- Land and Technical Needs
1865	- A Legal End to Slavery
1868	- Ensuring Former Slaves Citizen Rights
1875	- Acceptance of Former Slaves by the Populace
1882	- Competition of Foreign Laborers
1887	- Treatment of the Indian
1916	- Working Conditions
1920	- Women's Suffrage
1924	- Establishing Ethnic Background of America
1933	- Crises of the Farmer
1935	- Unemployment and Retirement
1946	- Full Employment
1957	- Minority Rights
1964	- Equality of Education
1965	- Medical and Hospital Care for the Elderly
1966	- Highway Safety
1972	- Maintaining State and Local Government
1972	- Drug Abuse
1975	- Indian Rights and Refugee Assimilation

from the beginning of the Republic. This concern was evident in the 1780s and 1790s when there was agitation for written guarantees of citizen rights, and demands for protection of seamen.

The major social crises of the nineteenth century were concerned with land and slavery. The problem with the land was how to disperse it to settlers, and whether to allow slavery in new areas. Whether slavery would be allowed, or not, was settled by the Civil War, but the social issues concerning it were still causing problems one hundred years later. When the 1900s came, the land dispersion problem had solved itself because the United States was running out of land to disperse.

The main social problem in the late nineteenth century was what to do with the Indian. Another problem concerned Chinese immigration. America was a neophyte in the Industrial Revolution, and had labor and unemployment problems. The Chinese, who worked for low wages, added to this problem

Most of the social problems in the first half of the twentieth century reflected the industrialization of America, and how complex it had become. Labor problems concerning work hours, unemployment, and unions were prominent, and there was also concern for the rights of women and security for the aged.

In the 1950s and 1960s, there was a change in the



type of social crises occurring. It was at this time equal rights for blacks and women, medical care for the aged, automobile and highway safety, and urban problems of the cities became major social problems. The 1970s brought problems with drugs, Indians, and Indochinese refugees.

The combined total of all major economic, political or social crises used in this study was sixty-one. Table V presents the twenty-one crises where major federal education legislation was enacted in the same year a crisis occurred.

#### THE HYPOTHESIS TESTED

The study was conducted to determine if, when major economic, political or social crises occurs in the United States, major education legislation is enacted.

The investigator gathered data on major education legislation and economic, political and social crises. The data accumulated were presented in five tables. The first four tables consist of pertinent data necessary to construct the fifth table. Analysis of the data in Table Five enabled the investigator to compute a percentage for testing the following null hypothesis:

There is no relationship between major federal education legislation and major economic, political or social crises in the United States.

TABLE V

MAJOR FEDERAL EDUCATION LEGISLATION IN THE UNITED STATES  
FROM 1776 TO 1976, WHICH WAS ENACTED IN THE SAME YEAR  
A MAJOR ECONOMIC, POLITICAL OR SOCIAL CRISIS OCCURRED

Economic Crisis	Political Crisis	Social Crisis	Date	Federal Education Legislation
Crisis of 1785		Land Dispersion	1785	- Northwest Ordinance of 1785
	Ratifying Const.	Failure of the Art. of Confed.	1787	- Northwest Ordinance of 1787
	Civil War	Land & Technical Needs	1802-3 1862	- Ohio Enabling Acts - Morrill Land Grant Act
	World War I	Women's Suffrage	1917	- Smith Hughes Act
			1918	- Vocational Rehabilitation Act
Crisis of 1920			1919	- Surplus Property Act
			1920	- Smith-Bankhead Act
	World War II	Full Employment	1941	- Lanham Act
			1944	- Service Man's Readjustment Act
				- Surplus Property Act
			1946	- National School Lunch Act
	Korean War		1948	- Smith-Mundt Act
			1950	- Impacted Area Aid
	Sputnik		1950	- Library Services Act
			1958	- National Defense Education Act
	Cuban Missile Crisis			- Education of Mentally Retarded Children Act
			1961	- Exceptional Children (Deaf) Act

TABLE V (CONTINUED)

Economic Crisis	Political Crisis	Social Crisis	Date	Federal Education Legislation
			1962	- Manpower Development and Training Act
			1963	- Educational Television Act - Health Professions Educational Assistance Act - Higher Education Facilities Act
		Equality of Education	1964	- Vocational Educational Act - Civil Rights (Title IV) Act
	Viet Nam War	Med. & Hospital Care for the Elderly	1965	- Economic Opportunity Act - Impact School Aid Act - Elementary and Secondary Education Act
		Highway Safety	1966	- Higher Education Act - National Technical Institute for the Deaf Act - International Educational Act - Elementary and Secondary Ed. Amendments of 1966
			1967	- Elementary and Secondary Ed. Amendments of 1967 - Education Professions Development Act
			1968	- Handicapped Children's Early Ed. Assistance Act - Higher Education Amendments of 1968

TABLE V (CONTINUED)

Economic Crisis	Political Crisis	Social Crisis	Date	Federal Education Legislation
			1970	- Elem. and Sec. Ed. Assistance Programs - School Lunch Amendments - Environmental Quality Education Act of 1970
		Drug Abuse	1972	- Educational Amendments of 1972
	Nixon Resignation		1974	- Educational Amendments of 1974
		Indian Rights & Refugee Assimilation	1975	- Indian Self-Determination & Ed. Assistance Act - Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act

If major federal education legislation was enacted sixty-six and two-thirds percent of the time when a major economic, political or social crisis was occurring, the hypothesis would be rejected. Analysis of the data reveals thirty-four percent of the time, when a major crisis occurred in the United States from 1776 to 1976, major federal education legislation was enacted. As a result of this finding, the hypothesis was retained.

#### ADDITIONAL ANALYSIS OF DATA

Further examination of Table V reveals that, from 1776 to 1976, there were two instances when a date major federal education was enacted coincided with a date a major economic crisis occurred in the United States. This meant that eleven percent of the time when a major economic crisis occurred in the United States from 1776 to 1976, major federal education legislation was enacted in the same year.

Nine times, or fifty percent of the time a political crises occurred, major federal education legislation was enacted in the United States from 1776 to 1976.

There were ten major social crises listed in Table V. This was interpreted as meaning forty percent of the time a major social crisis occurred in the United States from 1776 to 1976, major federal education legislation was enacted.

The data in Table V used for testing the hypothesis revealed when major crises occurred in America, major federal education legislation was enacted thirty-four percent of the time. The investigator decided there might be a higher relationship if an analysis were made to determine if major economic, political or social crises occurred when major federal education legislation was enacted. The following is a result of this analysis.

There were twenty-seven dates in America, from 1776 to 1976, when major federal education legislation was enacted. On twenty-two of these dates, there was a crisis of some type occurring in the United States. This was interpreted to mean that eighty-one percent of the time major education was enacted in the United States from 1776 to 1976, a major crisis of some type was also occurring.

The implication of these findings is education legislation did not necessarily take place when a major economic, political or social crisis occurred, but a major crisis of some type was likely to occur when major federal education legislation was enacted in the United States from 1776 to 1976. A further implication was, if major crisis occurred that frequently when major federal education legislation was enacted, there would be a relationship between the education legislation and the crisis occurring. To investigate this implication, a content analysis was made on all major crises and major federal education legislation

used in the study. The data from this analysis were then used to construct Table VI. An analysis of the table reveals ten dates major federal education legislation was enacted that had a relationship with a major crisis occurring at the same time. This was interpreted to mean thirty-seven percent of the time major federal education was enacted in the United States from 1776 to 1976, the education legislation enacted had a relationship to a crisis occurring at that time.

Conversely, an analysis was also conducted to determine the relationship major crises had with major federal education occurring simultaneously in American history. The data reveal eleven percent of all economic, political or social crises occurring in the United States from 1776 to 1976 had a relationship with major federal education legislation enacted at the same time. The table also reveals that seven out of the ten dates, when there was a crisis-education legislation relationship, the crisis was of a political nature involving either war or national defense.

TABLE VI

MAJOR CRISES IN THE UNITED STATES FROM 1776 TO 1976  
WHICH WERE RELATED TO SPECIFIC FEDERAL EDUCATION LEGISLATION

Economic Crisis	Political Crisis	Social Crisis	Date	Federal Education Legislation
		Land and Tech- nical Needs	1862	- Morrill Land Grant Act
	World War I	[	1917	- Smith Hughes Act
			1918	- Vocational Rehabilitation Act
			1919	- Surplus Property Act
	World War II		1941	- Lanham Act
			1944	- Service Man's Readjustment Act
				- Surplus Property Act
	Korean War		1950	- Impacted Area Act
	Sputnik		1958	- National Defense Education Act
				- Manpower Development & Train- ing Act
				- Educational Television Act
		Equality of Education	1964	- Civil Rights (Title IV) Act
		Indian Rights and Refugee Assimilation	1975	- Economic Opportunity Act
				- Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act
				- Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act



## Chapter 5

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### THE PROBLEM

Throughout the history of the United States, the "General Welfare Clause" of the Constitution was used by the Congress to justify its enactment of education legislation. Through Congressional legislation, the federal government has, from 1776 to 1976, become extensively involved in education in the United States.

If the federal government's involvement in education has developed to such magnitude, it seems logical that some plan must have been followed by the government to achieve this position. A review of the literature did not reveal such a plan, but there were indications that most major federal education legislation was passed by Congress as a reaction to some form of crisis. That possibility was the problem to be studied.

#### PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of the study was to determine if major federal education legislation had been passed by Congress as a reaction to economic, political or social crises. These three types of crisis were used because they

encompassed major facets of American life. The time period covered in the investigation was from 1776 to 1976.

#### SUMMARY OF METHODOLOGY

To implement the investigation, it was necessary to gather data on four variables. These variables were:

- (1) Major federal education legislation in the United States from 1776 to 1976.
- (2) Major economic crises in the United States from 1776 to 1976.
- (3) Major political crises in the United States from 1776 to 1976.
- (4) Major social crises in the United States from 1776 to 1976.

An extensive search provided data from which lists were constructed of the four variables. The lists were presented in four tables. Using the data from the four tables, a fifth table was constructed presenting a composite list of all three types of crises, and a list of major federal education legislation. Through data revealed in Table V, the following hypothesis was tested.

There is no relationship between federal education legislation and economic, political or social crises in the United States.

If major federal education legislation was enacted

sixty-six and two-thirds percent of the time when a major economic, political or social crisis was occurring in the United States, the hypothesis would be rejected. To further clarify the crisis-education legislation relationship, it was necessary to present additional analysis of data.

#### SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS

The findings were revealed by analyzing the data presented in six tables, and by testing the hypothesis.

They are as follows:

- (1) There were twenty-seven dates when major federal education legislation was enacted in the United States from 1776 to 1976. These twenty-seven dates encompassed forty-two different major education acts.
- (2) The study revealed eighteen major economic crises in the United States from 1776 to 1976.
- (3) Eighteen major political crises occurred in the United States from 1776 to 1976.
- (4) There were twenty-five major social crises in the United States from 1776 to 1976.
- (5) Thirty-four percent of the time when a major economic, political or social crisis occurred in the United States from 1776 to 1976, major federal education legislation was enacted.
- (6) Eleven percent of the time a major economic crisis occurred in the United States from 1776 to 1976, major

- federal education legislation was enacted.
- (7) Fifty percent of the time a major political crisis occurred in the United States from 1776 to 1976, major federal education legislation was enacted.
  - (8) Forty percent of the time a major social crisis occurred in the United States from 1776 to 1976, major federal education legislation was enacted.
  - (9) Eighty-one percent of the time when major federal education legislation was enacted in the United States from 1776 to 1976, a major crisis of some type was also occurring.
  - (10) Thirty-seven percent of the time when major federal education legislation was enacted in the United States from 1776 to 1976, the legislation enacted had a relationship with a crisis occurring at the same time. However, only eleven percent of all crises that occurred from 1776 to 1976 had a relationship with major federal education legislation occurring at the same time.
  - (11) Two-thirds of all major federal education legislation occurred from 1956 to 1976.

#### LIMITATIONS

The lack of agreement between the experts on definitions for major federal education legislation and major economic, political and social crises was a problem in the

development of the investigation. It hampered selection of materials for the study, and forced the investigator to develop the instruments and processes for the evaluation. Therefore, no validated tests or lists were used in the investigation. One of the most difficult problems was encountered while gathering data on social crises. The lack of unity and cohesiveness within this discipline caused the investigator to use methodology that was not as defensible as desired.

Another area of concern was the use of yearly dates in the analysis of the data. To determine a specific day a crisis occurred would have called for a judgment by the investigator in far too many instances. Therefore, yearly dates were exclusively used but they, at times, became cumbersome when gathering and interpreting data.

The scope of the search was, by necessity, quite broad. This caused some concern, however, as the investigator had to make a judgment on how extensive a search would be made of the four different disciplines to gain a basic understanding of each. As a result, the data used may, or may not, have been adequate to allow the study to develop valid findings.

## CONCLUSIONS

On the basis of the original hypothesis the following conclusion was reached; the federal government does not use major economic, political or social crises as a basis for enacting major federal education legislation.

Additional conclusions drawn from the study are as follows:

- (1) When a crisis exists at the same time major federal education legislation is enacted, the crisis is most likely to be concerned with war or national defense.
- (2) There is no apparent established procedure for identifying needed federal education legislation.
- (3) The federal government has become increasingly involved in education.

## RECOMMENDATION

1. An investigation should be conducted to determine background causes for major federal education legislation. For example, it might be wise to investigate the Congressional Record, and follow the passage of each major education bill through the House and Senate to see what the rationale was for its passage in order to determine whether there was a relationship to a crisis or any

other specific kind of event that may have occurred previous to, or at the same time, the education legislation was being considered.

2. An in-depth investigation should be conducted on current attitudes and intentions of the federal government in education.
3. There is a need in each of the four disciplines used in this study for historical source material that is concise but still broad enough to encompass the major points of the discipline.
4. With the present involvement of the federal government in education, it is imperative that either the professional educators, through their organizations, or the federal government itself, develop long-range plans for education in America. These plans should include methodology for identifying needed education legislation and procedures for implementation.
5. Professional educators, as well as the public, should be concerned about the extent of involvement of the federal government in education. Even if federal involvement in education is accepted, educators and the public should be aware of what federal programs entail, including costs, benefits and limitations.

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## APPENDICES

# APPENDIX A

## DATA ACCUMULATED TO DETERMINE MAJOR ECONOMIC CRISES IN AMERICAN HISTORY

Adrian A. Paradis <sup>1</sup> Economic Crises	Encyclopedia of American History <sup>2</sup> Economic Crises	Willard L. Thorp <sup>3</sup> Economic Crises	National Bureau of Economic Research Troughs and Peaks of Business Cycles	Bureau of Labor Statistics Wholesale Price Index Yearly Average (1967 = 100)		Crises Dates Selected
1785-1789	1784-1788	1785-1790	Recorded data available beginning in 1834	1784=35.9	1789=30.0	1785-1790
	1796-1798	1796-1799		1796=50.3	1799=45.2	1796-1799
	1802-1803					
1808-1809	1807-1809	1807-1810		1807=43.1	1808=38.8	1807-1810
1814		1815-1816		1814=58.7	1816=56.4	1815-1816
	1815-					
1819-1820	1821	1819-1822		1819=45.0	1821=34.0	1819-1822
1825	1825-1826	1825-1826		1825=35.6	1826=31.7	1825-1826
	1833-1834					
1837-1839	1837-1843	1837-1843	Trough 1838	1837=36.3	1843=23.9	1837-1843
1847-1848		1847-1848	Trough 1848	1847=29.5	1848=25.0	1847-1848
1857	1857-1858	1857-1859	Trough 1858	1857=37.8	1858=31.3	1857-1859
1860-1861						

<sup>1</sup>Adrian A. Paradis, The Economics Reference Book (Philadelphia: Chilton Book Company, 1970), p. 48.

<sup>2</sup>Richard B. Morris, ed. Encyclopedia of American History (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1961), pp. 536-541.

<sup>3</sup>Willard L. Thorp, Business Annals (New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, Inc., 1926), pp. 113-145.

# APPENDIX A (CONTINUED)

Adrian A. Paradis Economic Crises	Encyclopedia of American History Economic Crises	Willard L. Thorp Economic Crises	National Bureau of Economic Research Troughs and Peaks of Business Cycles	Bureau of Labor Statistics Wholesale Price Index Yearly Average (1967 = 100)	Crises Dates Selected
	1866-1867				
1868-1869					
1873-1875	1873-1878	1873-1879	Trough 1878	1873=46.5 1879=31.3	1873-1879
1878					
1884	1882-1885	1884-1887	Trough 1885	1884=31.9 1886=28.3	1884-1887
1889-1890	1890-1891	1890-1892	Trough 1891	1890=28.9 1892=26.9	1890-1892
1893-1895	1893-1897	1893-1898	Trough 1894 and 1896	1893=27.5 1896=23.9	1893-1898
1903-1904					
1907-1908	1907-1908	1907-1909	Trough 1908	1907=33.6 1908=32.4	1907-1909
1914	1913-1914	1914-1915	Trough 1914	1913=36.0 1914=35.2	1914-1915
1920-1921	1920-1921	1920-1922	Trough 1921	1920=79.6 1922=49.9	1920-1922
1930-	1929-1933	*	Trough 1932	1929=49.1 1932=33.6	1929-1936
1940	1937-1938	*	Trough 1938	1937=44.5 1939=39.8	1937-1940

\*Thorp's Annals were published in 1926 therefore no dates of crises were available after that date.

## APPENDIX B

### DATA ACCUMULATED TO DETERMINE MAJOR POLITICAL CRISES IN AMERICAN HISTORY

Thomas A. Bailey <sup>1</sup>	Bedford and Colbourn <sup>2</sup>	John A. Garraty <sup>3</sup>	Dates	Political Crises
110 - 131	46 - 91	95 - 122	1776-1781	Revolutionary War
144 - 154	88 - 91	134 - 137	1787-1789	Ratifying the Constitution
185 - 187	107 - 108	155 - 156	1789	Alien and Sedition Acts
212 - 232	125 - 128	183 - 189	1812-1815	War of 1812
241 - 243	135 - 205	247 - 250	1820	Missouri Compromise
308 - 315	195 - 200	292 - 298	1846-1848	Mexican War
402 - 409	203 - 207	302 - 306	1850	Compromise of 1850
441 - 485	223 - 239	368 - 429	1861-1865	Civil War
487 - 509	240 - 270	431 - 440	1867-1871	Reconstruct. and the Impeach. Andrew Johnson
525 - 528	255 - 257	451 - 453	1876	Tilden-Hayes Election
747 - 787	382 - 404	651 - 678	1914-1918	World War I
869 - 872	430 - 455	717 - 719	1932	Presidential Election
896 - 941	456 - 478	743 - 772	1941-1945	World War II
965 - 976	501 - 506	783 - 787	1950-1953	Korean War
992 - 993	492	793	1957-1958	Rocket Crises (Sputnik)
1008 - 1009	530	797 - 798	1962	Cuban Missile Crises
1031 - 1058	531 - 536	858 - 870	1965-1973	Viet Nam War
1058 - 1069	546 - 568	870 - 876	1974	Nixon Resignation

<sup>1</sup>Thomas A. Bailey, The American Pageant: A History of the Republic (Boston, Mass.: D. C. Heath and Co., 1975).

<sup>2</sup>Henry F. Bedford and Trevor Colbourn, The Americans: A Brief History (2nd ed., New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1976).

<sup>3</sup>John A. Garraty, The American Nation: A History of the United States (3rd ed., New York: Harper and Row, 1975).